

**THE FIRST
CRUSADERS,
1095-1131**

*JONATHAN
RILEY-SMITH
University of
Cambridge*

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The First Crusaders, 1095–1131

Much has been written about the crusades, but very little about the crusaders. What moved them to go? What preparations did they need to make? How did they react to their experiences? This book comes up with detailed answers to these questions, and offers the first systematic reading of a large cache of contemporary source material.

Crusading drew upon the traditions of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and of pious violence. In 1095 these traditions were fused in Pope Urban II's radical conception of penitential war. The response of the armsbearers to his call was to be as important as the idea itself, since the proposal to liberate Jerusalem was dependent upon their cooperation. Some western family groups had become predisposed to respond positively, and the practical difficulties involved in fulfilling the vow — such as the raising of cash, the purchase of animals and equipment, and financial arrangements during the crusader's absence — anyway meant that the volunteer would be especially dependent upon his family, whose initial support was essential.

Clusters of crusaders can be identified in individual family groups, and the collective commitment of these clans manifested itself in support for the new settlements in the East. Indeed, crusading was so dependent upon the support and enthusiasm of family groups that the movement was open to domination by them: the example of the Montlhéry clan is cited, who tried to seize control of the crusading movement in the 1120s.



An early twelfth-century crusader and his wife. Note the cross on the crusader's chest, and his pilgrim staff and purse.
(Musée historique Lorrain, Nancy)

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Jonathan Riley-Smith

University of Cambridge



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Forgo a fruitless search for absolutes.
Observe truth's manifold expressions
Revealed at every turn and vantage point.

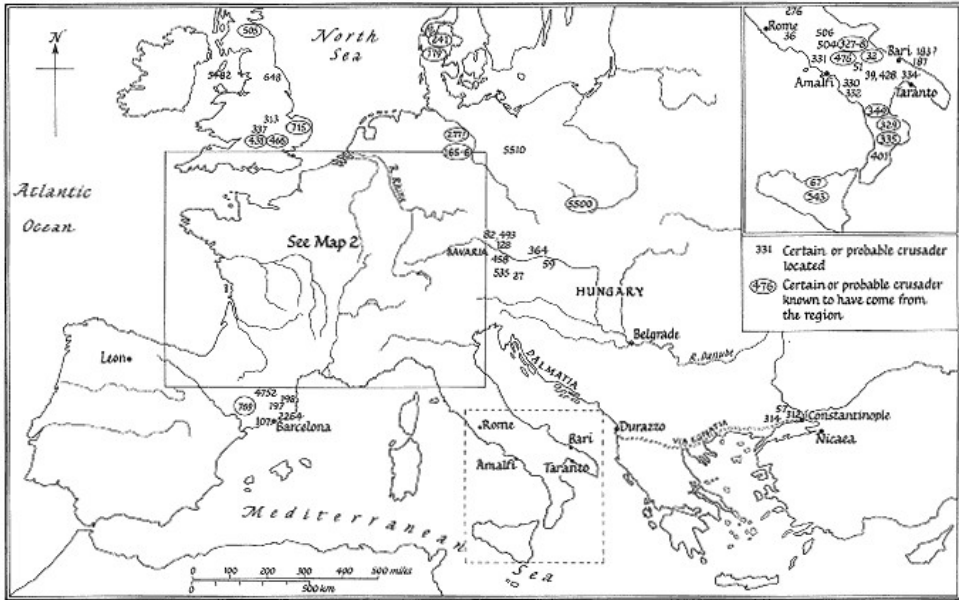
Allow our ancestors respect.
Let their own voices speak to us
In their particular tones, unmuffled by our certainties,
Conveying to us their own convictions,
Enlightening the past.

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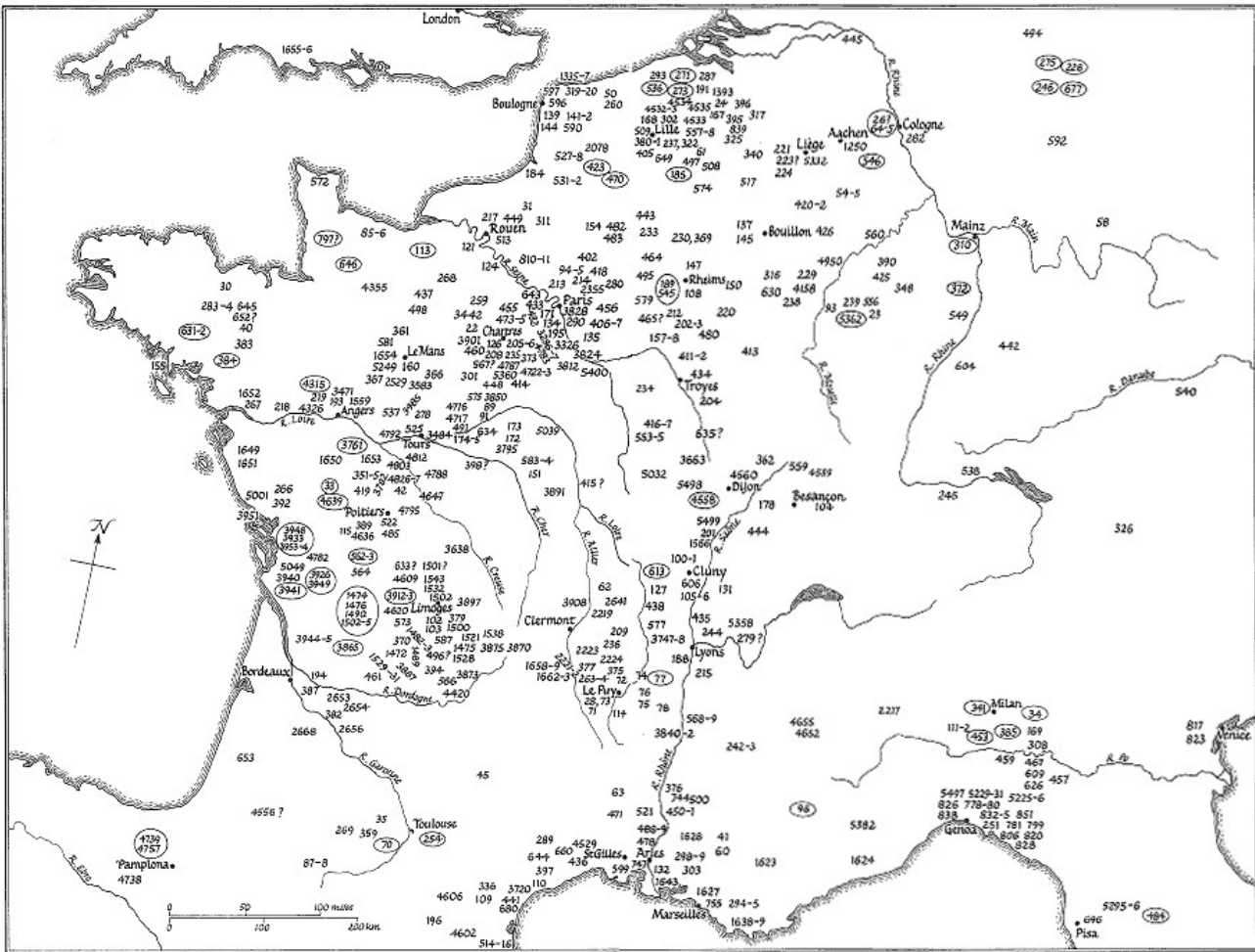
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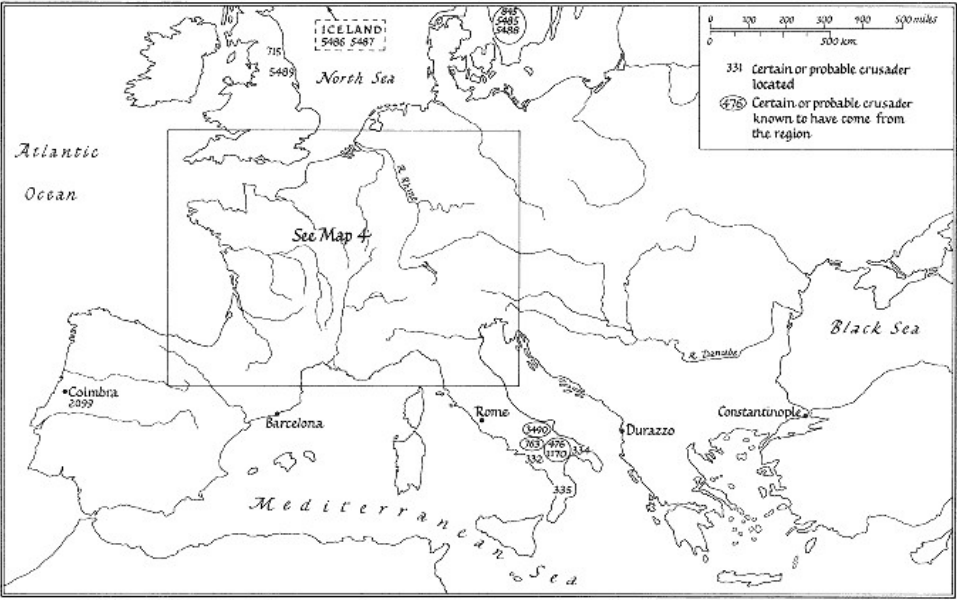
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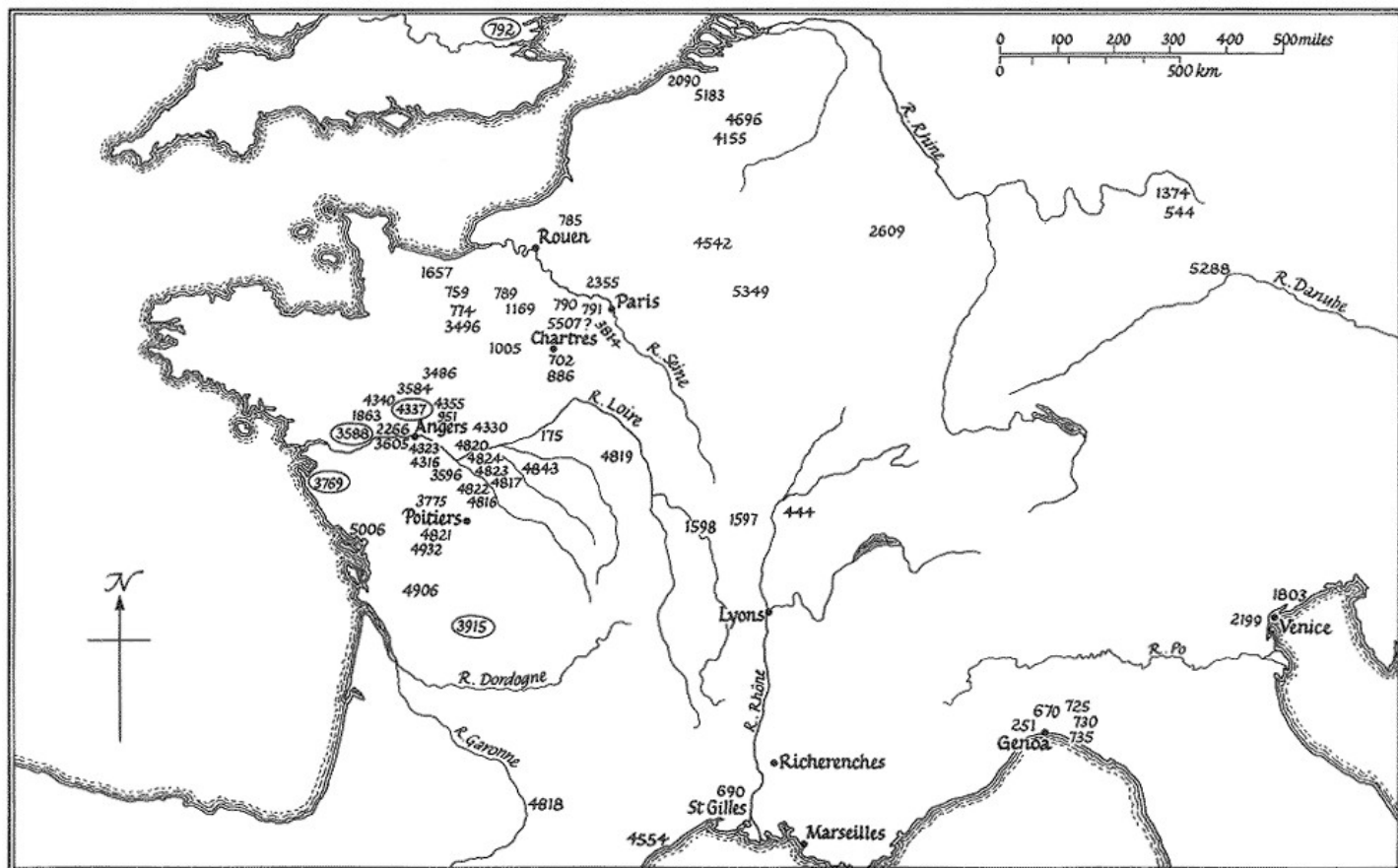


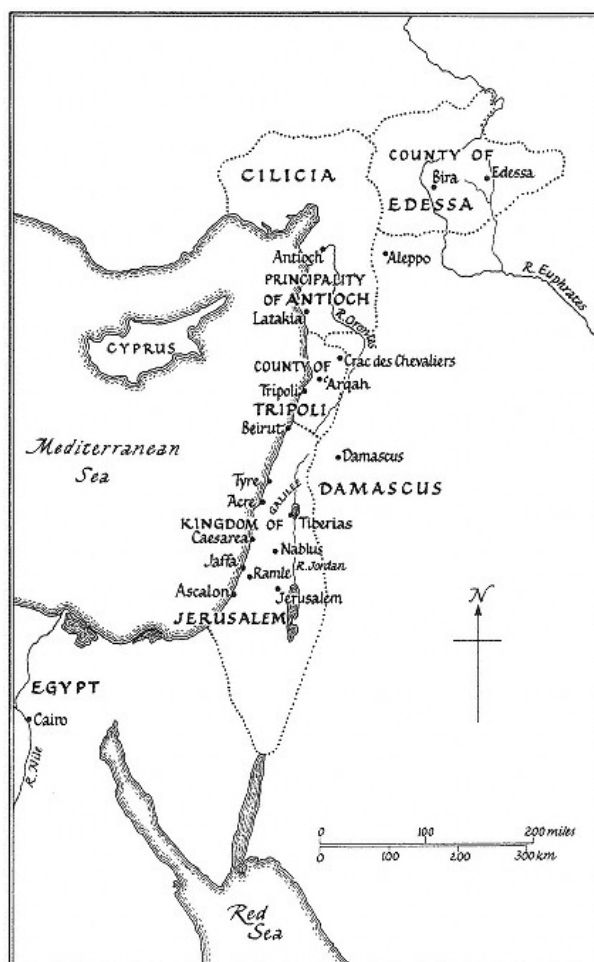
1 and 2
Recruitment for the First Crusade, 1095-1103





3 and 4
Recruitment for crusades to the East, 1106–29





5
The Latin East, 1128

Introduction

It often happens that research which is embarked on with a particular intention ends in a book about something else. I began by wanting to discover, if I could, some of the reasons why men and women took the cross during the first few decades of crusading, but in the course of my work I found myself being confronted by the sight of a few closely related families attaining a dominant position. Their ascent came into focus for me because I happened to have become interested in the circumstances which made it possible: the religious and social environment in which men committed themselves to a crusade and geared themselves up to take part in it, the experiences and attitudes of the survivors, and the ties between the settlers in the newly conquered Latin territories in the East and their homelands. The families concerned came from emergent nobility of moderate status. What was there in early crusading — in the ideology and the responses of nobles and knights to it, in the details of the preparations, and in the reactions of the survivors to their experiences — which made the movement susceptible to a take-over of this sort? I have tried to answer that question in this book.

The source material, particularly for the First Crusade, is rich. The triumph of the earliest crusaders was described over and over again by their successors, by later pilgrims and by theological commentators, but there are also four accounts of their experiences on the campaign that liberated Jerusalem written by participants¹ and a fifth which is so full of circumstantial detail that it deserves to be put beside them.² Two of these also provide a narrative of the early settlements and are supplemented by a famous chronicle, which was written in Jerusalem several decades later but drew on

¹ FC 153–322, 428–40; GF *passim*; PT *passim*; RA *passim*.

² AA 274–504, 559–93.

contemporary documents and the reminiscences of survivors.³ Two versions of an epic poem at least partly composed by someone who took part in the First Crusade are known, although one of them was so heavily rewritten later that one cannot be certain what in it is by the first author, if there was a single one, and the original of the other survives only in fragments.⁴ There are nine letters written by or for crusaders on the march.⁵ There are contemporary accounts of the relics they brought home with them. There are hagiographical works and miracle stories. Above all there are charters. The documents associated with institutions in the Latin East have often been used, but the importance of those relating to churches and religious communities in the West as sources of information for crusade historians was barely recognized before Professor Giles Constable drew attention to them.⁶ Quite a large number of them are buried in cartularies, collections of title-deeds and other documents made by churchmen for their own use, into which they were copied and recopied, organized and reorganized, sometimes long after the dates on which they were originally drawn up.⁷ I cannot claim to have read everything, but I have seen enough, I think, to provide me with a reasonably sure grasp of what was going on.

Being on the whole legal documents describing transfers of property by endowment, sale or pledge, many of the charters record the benefactions and other financial arrangements made by the members of the property-owning classes who crusaded, wills drawn up on their behalf, and disputes in which their heirs and families were involved. Reading them, even in the garbled versions which are sometimes all that survive, greatly enlarges our knowledge of the preparations for, and even of experiences on and ideas about, crusading and provides us with the only evidence for many crusaders. The family of Arnold II of Ardres was maintaining a century later that he had taken part in the First Crusade and that his name was not to be found in the long lists of knights recorded in the epic, *La*

³ See P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre* (Cambridge, 1988), *passim*.

⁴ Ch d'A *passim*; Ch d'A Pr *passim* and GC 11–274 *passim*. See S. Duparc-Quoioc in Ch d'A 2.171–205; R. F. Cook, 'Chanson d'Antioche', *Chanson de Geste: le cycle de la croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam, 1980), *passim*.

⁵ Kb 138–40, 141–2, 144–52, 153–5, 156–65, 167–74.

⁶ G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213–79; 'The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century', *Outremer*, ed B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Small (Jerusalem, 1982), 64–88, and 'Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 73–89.

⁷ See M. G. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993), 15.

Chanson d'Antioche, because he had refused to bribe the author to include it.⁸ The family was right, at least in believing that Arnold had been a crusader, because a charter shows him to have been in the entourage of Count Robert II of Flanders in the early stages of the march.⁹

It is no good pretending that the charters are easy to use. By the time they reach us many of them are shadows of their former selves, mutilated or corrupted. The paucity of evidence from such centres of pilgrimaging to Jerusalem in the eleventh century, and therefore presumably fertile grounds for recruitment, as Périgord, the Angoumois and Rouergue is probably to be explained by the fact that so much material from these regions has been lost. On the other hand, the scarcity of documents relating to crusaders in England and Germany may be a consequence of scribal conventions that favoured brief statements of legal fact, eschewing references to motives, as opposed to the more expansive and informative style employed in much of France, Lorraine and imperial Burgundy, even if not in all of it: a marked increase of grants around 1100 to the Cluniac house of Domène in Burgundy and to the cathedral of Grenoble may have been linked to the needs of the crusade, but the Domène cartulary contains few references to it and there is only one charter in that of Grenoble.¹⁰ Pledge-agreements must have been very common, but the only ones recorded, unless they also included testamentary dispositions, were those describing loans which were not redeemed, since these were the ones which became title deeds.

Local factors probably affected charter evidence in other ways. The names of many more first crusaders from the Limousin survive than from most other regions of France. But a comparison of recruitment among the greater lords in the Limousin — the viscount of Turenne and the lords of Les Moulières, Lastours, Bré and Pierre-Bouffière — with that of other regions does not suggest that the nobles of the Limousin were much more enthusiastic than those elsewhere. Champagne also contributed a respectable body of nobles — the castellans of Bray and Châtillon-sur-Marne, and the lords of Chappes, Possesse, Méry and Broyes — and the reason we know the names of many more ordinary crusading knights from the Limousin may simply be that Champagne was a rich region, the lords of which could afford to subsidize their followers, whereas the knights of the

⁸ LA 626–7.

⁹ Flanders 67.

¹⁰ Domène 91, 248; Grenoble 165–6. See Constable, 'The Financing of the Crusades', 75.

Limousin, living in a poor one, had to dispose of property to finance themselves, generating the charters which provide the evidence for their participation. The knight Raymond of Curemonte, for example, going in the viscount of Turenne's party, raised cash for the journey on his own account in a pledge authorized by the viscount himself, who promised to make sure that its terms were not infringed by Raymond's relations.¹¹ The absence of material from Normandy, from where we know a large force left for the East in 1096, may be because Duke Robert II, who had borrowed a huge sum of money from his brother King William II of England, could subsidize his followers.

It is often hard to date a document precisely or to be sure that we are faced by a crusader rather than a pilgrim, since in many charters the man or woman is referred to noncommittally as *Hierosolymam pergens* or *petens* or *tendens* or *proficiscens* or *iturus*.¹² I have had to decide on the status of the individual concerned in each case, assuming, for instance, that when the distinctly non-military verb *ambulare* is used of the journey to Jerusalem, or the motive is given as *orationis gratia*, the reference is probably to a pilgrim. In many charters the march is described by the neutral words *iter* or *via*, which had long histories in the language of pilgrimage; it is not often that the addition of a defining phrase clarifies the issue, as in a charter announcing how Quino son of Dodo planned to join the 'Jerusalem journey undertaken with force of arms'.¹³ Faced by a record such as that of a gift by Astanove II of Fézensac in c. 1098 which was made 'on the day of his *peregrinatio* when he took the *iter* to Jerusalem',¹⁴ and bereft of any other evidence, one can say only that Astanove was probably a crusader. And unless the scribe was good enough to let us know or a narrative account provides us with more material the identification of a crusader in a charter is no evidence that he joined a campaign, only that he intended to do so.

Most charters were drawn up by churchmen and the question arises whether the ideas expressed in them were fair reflections of the minds of the crusaders themselves. In fact they probably were. Benefactors, vendors and borrowers would certainly want to know what was being written in Latin in their names. For example, in 1101 Milo of Vignory, a pilgrim inspired by the liberation of Jerusalem two years before, received the scrip (purse) of pilgrimage from the

¹¹ Tulle 276–7, 416–8.

¹² See also Constable, 'Medieval Charters' 75.

¹³ St Mihiel 191.

¹⁴ Auch 57.

prior of St Etienne de Vignory and then, after a meal with the monks, stood before the priory's altar and 'had his charter [of gift] read and explained in the vernacular'.¹⁵ It has been pointed out recently that so close was the relationship between armsbearers and local religious houses, where kindred were often monks or nuns, that both sides were engaged in a sort of continuous dialogue, out of which a common approach to religion had been forged.¹⁶

If one feature of this book is my reliance on charter evidence, another is the use I have made of a computer. Since I had originally hoped to discover something of the influences on the recruitment of individuals, I decided that the best approach would be to build up a computerized directory of the men and women associated with crusading, pilgrimage (because of the close relationship between crusaders and pilgrims) and settlement in the Holy Land. I had a fairly good idea of the questions which initially needed asking, although I wanted a system flexible enough to take in new ones as they arose. The prosopographical system I used was developed for me by Dr F. G. Kingston from the relational database management package *Oracle* and consisted of eight tables, each with an associated data-entry form. A 'header record' table contained the name of each man or woman and other basic information about him or her. When a new entry was made the computer automatically assigned a serial number to the person, providing connections with the entries in the other tables and enabling one to produce family trees and to identify points of contact between groups of people. The remaining tables, each of which could contain many entries relating to the individual concerned, held information, including references to the evidence, about places of residence, family and feudal relationships, careers in the West and the East, all evidence of crusading, pilgrimages, settlement or membership of a military order, and persons and activities, such as fund-raising and endowments, associated with these.

The system was designed in 1987 and, given the speed of developments in computing, is now very old-fashioned, but at least it has proved its worth for me. Of course, unless they are particularly fortunate in their sources, medieval historians cannot use computers as modern historians do, because accurate statistical conclusions are

¹⁵ St Bénigne de Dijon 2.172.

¹⁶ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 155–6.

unattainable. On the other hand, a computer can manipulate large quantities of material more securely than we can; and it can make us conscious of openings into potential fields of research which might otherwise lie hidden.

In Pope Urban II's call to bear arms as a penance in 1095 and in the answer of so many to what was as much a devotional as a military activity, Europe took an unexpected turning and the crusaders a step into the dark. They were not to know that they were founding a movement which was to last for seven centuries, involving vast numbers of people in many different theatres of war. Over time crusading was to become institutionalized and the original emphasis on fighting as a penance was to be diluted by the more conventional one of bearing arms in God's service, but in its early years the message conveyed to the faithful by the preachers was harsh and uncompromising. I have tried to see this through the eyes of the men and women from the armsbearing classes who took part, but I recognize that the task I have set myself is in many ways an impossible one. We are too distant from the personalities concerned to understand them fully, and anyway we have to reconcile their bleak, obsessed, savage and exceptionally religious world with ours and describe it in our own terms before we can comprehend them at all. They were drawn to a popularized version of a relatively sophisticated ideology which they saw to be relevant to their day-to-day religious concerns and which they affirmed, and seem genuinely to have believed in, even when they were being ruthlessly ambitious in the worldly sense. Their priorities often seem alien to us, and the movement in which they were engaged madness, because the basic religious elements common to Christians in any age were transformed in their case by adaptation to a society in which lordship, honour, family solidarity expressing itself at times in vendettas, reputation and commitment to extravagant social generosity played powerful parts. I do not suppose that I am alone in finding it very hard to stretch my mind to encompass the amalgam of piety and violence, of love and hate, which was characteristic of their response to the call to arms.

Chapter 1— Crusading and Crusaders, 1095–1131

Among the men who sailed with Count Fulk V of Anjou to Palestine in 1129 was his brother-in-law Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire, who was joining a crusade for a second time. Hugh had been born in *c.* 1080 into a family which had risen to prominence in the service of the counts of Anjou. He had been the heir to one of the three towers of Amboise when he had first taken the cross in March 1096 at a ceremony at the abbey of Marmoutier presided over by the pope. He had experienced the sufferings and triumphs of a three-year campaign which had ended with the liberation of Jerusalem and during it he had gained a reputation for steadiness: he had been one of those deputed to guard the gates of Antioch against breakout as disintegration threatened the Christian army on the night of 10 June 1098, when crusaders, desperate to get away and on the road home, were escaping even through the latrine-drains in the city-walls.¹ Now elderly, hugely rich and in possession through marriage of the rest of the seigneurie of Amboise, he made it over to his eldest son. He obviously wanted to end his days in Jerusalem and it was there that he died two months after reaching Palestine. He was buried on the Mount of Olives, from where he would have first looked down on the city thirty years before.²

Although unusual in that he crusaded twice, Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire was typical in many ways of the middle-ranking nobles who were to dominate the early decades of crusading. By the time of his death members of a family of a similar standing to his own, or rather of a closely related group of them which shared descent from a castellan in the Ile-de-France called Guy of Montlhéry, were dominant in the settlements in the Levant established in the wake of the

¹ GAD 101–2; BB 65 note. For Hugh, see G. Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest* (London, 1984), 236–7, 245–9.

² GAD 115–16.

First Crusade and had a stranglehold on the movement. The king of Jerusalem was one of them. The semi-independent county of Edessa in northern Iraq and the two most important lordships in Palestine were in the hands of cousins. A fourth cousin was abbot of one of the most prestigious monasteries in Jerusalem, and a fifth was patriarch (although he proved to be a liability). Marriage-alliances had been made with the rulers of the two other settlements, the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli. Of the two crusades to the East of the 1120s, one was proclaimed in response to an appeal from the king by a pope who was his cousin and the preaching of the other seems to have been organized entirely by the king himself.

Few knights gained much in material terms from the crusades, but the Montlhérys benefited spectacularly, even if their ambitions were never entirely fulfilled: Fulk of Anjou, whose crusade culminated in his marriage to the king of Jerusalem's eldest daughter, had been invited by them out to Palestine to maintain the status quo, but he swept many of their policies away two years after Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire's death. They had had luck, of course, but there was more to their success than that. I believe that developments in the eleventh century had preconditioned the members of some western noble families to respond positively, if in their own way, to the early appeals to crusade; that the logistical and financial demands made upon them while they were preparing for the expeditions led to their relations being closely involved in a supporting rôle; and that this made the early crusading movement and the security of the new Latin settlements in the East particularly dependent on those kindred groups which showed commitment. It was on the foundations provided by this combination of ideology and blood-relationship that the Montlhérys' bid for glory rested.

Although a difficulty faced by all historians of crusading is that while it is usually clear when each crusade begins it is never easy to give a date for its ending, there seem to have been four separate crusades in the period covered by this book. The first and most successful, proclaimed on 27 November 1095 by Pope Urban II at Clermont in response to an appeal for assistance against the Turks from the Byzantine emperor Alexius I,³ petered out towards the end of the first decade of the twelfth century. Elements of it had stayed to fight

³ For the course of the First Crusade, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), *passim* and *The Crusades* (London, 1987), 1–36.

in an army in Lebanon scratched together by Raymond of St Gilles, who certainly considered himself to be still on crusade;⁴ so did Raymond's son Bertrand and his Genoese allies, who in 1108 were completing the reduction of the Lebanese coast and had vowed to serve 'God and the Holy Sepulchre'.⁵ Meanwhile Bohemond of Taranto, who had been one of the leaders between 1096 and 1098 and had become ruler of Antioch, began to recruit men in 1106 for another campaign, which would engineer a change of government in Constantinople on its way to the East. The army he attracted was large enough for the monastic historian Orderic Vitalis to write of it as the 'third expedition . . . to Jerusalem';⁶ presumably he thought of the forces of 1096 and 1100–1 as comprising the first and second. Bohemond's troops gathered in Apulia in the autumn of 1107 but, after landing on the Albanian coast and laying siege to Durazzo, they were surrounded by the Byzantine Greeks and forced to surrender in September 1108.⁷ Some of them travelled on to the East. Most, without the means to continue, returned to western Europe,⁸ although a fleet under the command of King Sigurd I of Norway, which turned up in Palestine in 1110 after spending three years on a voyage from Scandinavia, had perhaps also been recruited.⁹

A disaster for the Christians in northern Syria a decade later, the Battle of the Field of Blood in which the prince of Antioch was killed, led late in 1119 to the preaching by Pope Calixtus II of a new crusade, which took the important Palestinian port of Tyre in July 1124.¹⁰ A few years later more crusaders were sought by the settlers in the Levant, when an embassy was sent from Jerusalem to offer the hand of King Baldwin II's daughter Melisende to Fulk of Anjou. The initiative for the new expedition seems to have been Baldwin's own.¹¹ A substantial number of fighters accompanied Fulk to Pales-

⁴ St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151–3.

⁵ AA 664–9, 671–2, 679; Caffaro, 'De liberatione civitatum orientis', 122–4; WT 507–9; Genoa (Church) 43.

⁶ OV 3.182.

⁷ See J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II, Bohemond of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49 (1966), 165–202; G. Rösch, 'Der "Kreuzzug" Bohemunds gegen Dyrrachion 1107–8 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 26 (1984), 181–90.

⁸ HP 228–9.

⁹ P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1865), 173–215; AA 675, 677–9; FC 543–8.

¹⁰ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124', *I Comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. G. Airal di and B. Z. Kedar (Genoa, 1986), 339–50.

¹¹ See WT 620.

tine in 1129 and joined an army of settlers in an unsuccessful assault upon Damascus.¹² After marrying Melisende Fulk stayed on to succeed to the throne after Baldwin's death on 21 August 1131.

Compared to their thirteenth-century successors, over which the authority of the popes was firmly established, the unregulated nature of these early expeditions is apparent. When in 1103 the western Emperor Henry IV committed himself to a penitential war in the East without reference to the papacy and authorized the preaching of it by the bishop of Würzburg,¹³ it is arguable that he was trying to reassert his traditional authority as defender of Christendom, an authority which had been usurped by Pope Urban II when he had summoned Christians to fight to recover Jerusalem. And at least one other campaign which was clearly a crusade, that of 1129, seems to have been launched without any authorization by Pope Honorius II, who remained a bystander. The Church, which had invented crusading, had very little control over it, partly because preaching, recruitment and oversight demanded unprecedented responsibilities of the clergy, who often were at sea when trying to cope with the unfamiliar issues they had to face. It is understandable that one historian has wondered recently whether we can speak of crusades at all between the end of the First and the year 1187; he questions whether contemporaries saw in crusading anything distinctive and he suggests that they viewed it as one of several fairly traditional options open to them as members of an exceptionally violent society.¹⁴ It is true that in the early twelfth century it is not always easy for us to distinguish crusades from expeditions of pilgrims who had not taken crusade vows but, presumably following the precedent created on the First Crusade, were now armed.¹⁵ When faced by contradictions in evidence which is anyway sparse historians are often inclined to suppose that contemporaries were as bewildered as they are, but the material I will use in this book will, I hope, convince my readers that, however inchoate crusading was in institutional terms, crusaders were readily identifiable. Already in the early twelfth century the sight of those who 'took the cross', the act which marked the making

¹² WT 618–22; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* 250; Robert of Torigni, *Chronica* 113–15; Ibn al-Athir, 'Sum of World History', 1.385–6; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 194–5.

¹³ Ekk C 224–5; *Annales Hildesheimenses* 50–1; Otto of Freising, *Chronica* 318; H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), 65.

¹⁴ C. J. Tyerman, 'Were There any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 553–77.

¹⁵ See, for example, AA 596.

of the vow to crusade,¹⁶ would have led everyone to know that an expedition was being planned or was in train.

The exact terms of the vows made by recruits in what must have been a very emotional environment are not known. For the eastern theatre of war they must have involved a promise to pilgrimage to Jerusalem combined with a pledge either to liberate it by force or to fight in its defence and in support of fellow-Christians living in Palestine and Syria. Volunteers were supposed to have the crosses which had been distributed to them sewn on to their clothes at once and they were expected to go on wearing these crosses until they came home with their vows fulfilled: in 1123 the bishops at the First Lateran Council decreed against those 'who had taken their crosses off' without departing on Pope Calixtus' crusade.¹⁷ The language Pope Urban was reported using in 1095 suggests that he knew he was doing something new and that he intended the crosses to be distinctive,¹⁸ and crusaders were certainly conspicuous, distinguishable from their contemporaries and perhaps even from other pilgrims, with whom crosses had never been regularly associated before the First Crusade.¹⁹ The response in some places to the taking of the vow was hysterical, with individuals branding crosses on their bodies,²⁰ but it is easy to forget how visible the ordinary cloth ones must have been. An early twelfth-century sculpture, from the priory of Belval in Lorraine, shows a crusader wearing a cross made from two-inch strips of cloth on his chest; it looks as though it measured six by six inches.²¹

It was important that crusaders should be marked out in this way. The leaders of the early armies became convinced that there was a reservoir of additional manpower in the West which could be deployed if only the Church would force laggards to fulfil their vows.²² Demands of this sort were made throughout the history of the movement and periodically attempts were made to establish just

¹⁶ See RR 729–31; BB 15–16; Kb 142, 160, 165 (and see 175–6); OV 5.228–30; Brittany (Morice) 1.490; HGL 5.757; 'The Council of Troyes, 23 May 1107' 93.

¹⁷ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* 168.

¹⁸ RR 729–30; BB 16.

¹⁹ C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, 1977), 345.

²⁰ Ekk H 19; Bernold of St Blasien, 'Chronicon', 464; GN Gesta 182–3, 250–1; BB 17; RA 102; FC 169–70; 'Historia de translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai . . . ejusdem avunculi, alterius Nicolai, Theodorique . . . de civitate Mirea in monasterium S. Nicolai de Littore Venetiarum' 225; OV 5.30.

²¹ In the Musée historique lorrain in Nancy. See above p. iv.

²² Kb 142, 160, 165; also 175–6.

how large the second force was. It was always a lot easier to rail against 'false' crusaders than to make them do what they had promised, but the pressure put on them and the publicity they attracted underlined the seriousness of the commitment they had made.

The First Crusade was a violent and brutal episode during which the crusaders cut a swathe of suffering through Europe and western Asia. But perceptions and motivation in the West were influenced more by accounts of the trials undergone by the crusaders themselves, ordeals, which, it is fairly clear, they had anticipated. The first parties, made up largely of poor people but under noble command, were already on the move in the spring of 1096, earlier than the pope had wished and before they could enjoy the benefits of that year's harvest. Most of them got no further than the Balkans, but before leaving the West many of them took part in a ferocious persecution of Jews, particularly in the Rhineland, but also in France, Bavaria and Bohemia, in the course of which the important Jewish community at Mainz was almost wiped out. Two of the early armies reached Constantinople relatively intact, but once they had crossed the Bosphorus they were cut to pieces by the Turks. They were followed from mid-August onwards by contingents with more effective military components, although their progress was also impeded by the hordes of poor pilgrims who attached themselves to them. After long and sometimes dangerous marches across Europe, the crusaders were arriving outside Constantinople in late 1096 and early 1097. They thought they were going to campaign under the command of the Emperor Alexius, but they now had to face the realities of Byzantine politics, for the Greeks felt threatened by forces which were much larger than they had expected and used every means at their disposal, from blandishment to ill-treatment, to persuade each contingent to cross the Bosphorus into Asia independently as soon as possible after its arrival. The various elements of the crusade only came together before the walls of Nicaea, the first major city in Turkish hands on the old imperial road to the East, which surrendered to the Greeks on 19 June 1097.

A week later, realizing that they were not going to get the leadership and assistance from the Byzantine emperor they had expected, the crusaders made the first of several exceptionally bold decisions. They struck out on their own across Asia Minor, accompanied by a

token force of Greek soldiers and guides. In late October, after an exhausting and traumatic march which had been punctuated by victories over the Turks at Dorylaeum and Eregli, they reached Antioch, a city which, although a shadow of its former self, still controlled the easiest passes from Asia Minor into Syria. They invested it for seven and a half months, beating off two Muslim armies of relief. It fell to them on 3 June 1098, but almost at once they found themselves besieged in their turn by a new Muslim army, which would have caught them outside the walls had it not been held up for three weeks in a fruitless attempt to storm the town of Edessa, 160 miles to the north-east and already in crusader hands. On the night of 10 June morale was so low and panic levels so high in the western army that its leaders had to take steps to prevent a mass break-out, as we have seen, but this was followed by reports from visionaries of Christ appearing and promising victory and by the discovery of what was said to be the lance which had pierced his side when he was on the cross. It was generally believed that the whereabouts of this relic had been revealed to a Provençal servant called Peter Bartholomew by the apostle Andrew himself. Their morale restored, the crusaders sortied out of the city on 28 June and in a victory which was attributed by some of them to the appearance on their left flank of a heavenly army of angels, saints and the ghosts of their dead companions, routed the Muslims. Although the next move was not to be made for five months, this was the turning point of the campaign.

It was the poor who forced the leaders, who could not agree on the next step, to take the road again between 13 January and early February 1099. The crusaders seem to have planned the occupation of some of the major fortresses which lay in their path and could have cut their lifeline back to Antioch if held by the enemy, but after besieging 'Arqah in Lebanon in vain for three months they made another bold decision. Moving as they were from a region dominated by Turkish princes into one which had been recently recovered by the Fatimid rulers of Egypt, they resolved to ignore the strongpoints and hurry down the coast while the countryside was still in a state to feed them — it was harvest time — and before the Egyptians could raise an army to intercept them. They reached Jerusalem on 7 June and the city fell to assault on 15 July. On 12 August a large Egyptian counter-invasion was thrown back near Ascalon. Of the army of some 70,000 men and women, including about 7,000 knights, which

had mustered at Nicaea two years before, only 12,000, of whom 1,200–1,300 were knights, besieged Jerusalem. Of course many crusaders had settled in Edessa and around Antioch and many others had deserted, but new arrivals had been joining the army all the time and the overall rate of loss must therefore have been running at around three to one.²³

Most of the knights now decided to make for home, but in the spring of 1099, while they had still been in Lebanon, Pope Urban had commissioned the archbishop of Milan to preach the cross in Lombardy. Recruitment spread to France and Germany in 1100, and late that year and early in the next new armies, containing many fresh crusaders together with individuals who had not yet fulfilled their vows and deserters from Antioch and elsewhere, left the West. Instead of combining, however, these armies forced their way into Asia Minor separately and were picked off one by one by the Turks. Some of the survivors fought in an army which was defeated in Palestine by the Egyptians on 17 May 1102. These disasters paradoxically reinforced the belief in Europe that the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre in 1099 had been a miraculous event, for the defeats two years later 'proved' how powerful the forces were which had been brushed aside on the triumphant march on Jerusalem by men who had recognized how ill-provisioned, poorly equipped and mounted, and badly led they had been; only briefly had there been agreement on the election of a commander-in-chief, and the appointee, Stephen of Blois, had fled soon afterwards. The only feasible explanation for their success was that the hand of God had been helping them, and the failure of the epilogue in 1101 — in the long run a disaster for none but those taking part — simply demonstrated for contemporaries that the crusaders involved were not penitential and loving enough to be true instruments of the divine will.

On the other hand, no survivor of the army which had taken Jerusalem in 1099 can have been unscathed. His abiding memory would have been of a continual hunt for provisions. The chances were that within a year his horses and pack animals had died. So when he had fought, he had fought on foot, and when he had marched, he and his surviving servants had had to carry his arms and armour in sacks across their shoulders. Even before they left Europe

²³ J. France, *Victory in the East* (Cambridge, 1994), 122–42.

crusaders had begun to pass from reality into unreality, slipping into a dream world from which they did not escape until they returned home, a world in which for much of the time they were homesick, starving, diseased and exhausted, and in which they witnessed the deaths of those around them; a world in which acts of unspeakable cruelty were committed against the backdrop of a night sky glittering with comets, auroras and shooting stars, and in which Christ, Our Lady and the saints appeared to them in visions, and the ghosts of their dead returned to comfort and encourage them, and to assure them that death in such a holy war was martyrdom. Crusading was never to be a pleasant experience: the armies of 1101 were cut to pieces in Asia Minor; the crusade of 1107 ended in a disease-ridden army trapped just across the Adriatic; and although we know very little about conditions on the expeditions of the 1120s, which reached Palestine by sea, they cannot have been comfortable.

What drove so many men and women to take part in enterprises which were often as unpleasant for them as they were for their opponents and victims? The motives of crusaders have been a subject for debate since the movement began. In the early twelfth century, the chronicler Albert of Aachen portrayed a North Italian priest saying,

Men hold to different opinions about this journey. Some say that this desire to go has been aroused in all pilgrims by God and the Lord Jesus Christ; others that it was through lightheadedness that the Frankish magnates and the multitudes were moved, and that it was because of this that so many pilgrims encountered obstacles in Hungary and in other kingdoms, so that they could not fulfil their vows.²⁴

Nine hundred years later, the most popular explanation, which takes various forms, is that the prospect of material gain attracted recruits. But although everyone agrees that material and ideological motivations are not mutually exclusive and it would be absurd to maintain that no one thought he could benefit in worldly terms, the generalizations about motivation for profit, which always rested on insufficient evidence, look less and less convincing the more we know of the circumstances in which the early crusaders took the cross.

There are still historians who believe that crusading was a colonial enterprise, the purpose of which was to gain land for settlement. In the age of positive imperialism around 1900 the crusades were

²⁴ AA 415–16.

supposed to be the opening act in the 'expansion of Europe', leading, in a phrase which appealed to French historians, to 'the first French empire'. This idea was picked up by the British, particularly at the time of Allenby's victories over the Turks and his entry into Jerusalem, and it was passed on to the first generation of Arab nationalists, who turned the rhetoric on its head, so that today crusading imperialism has a fixed place in Arab (and also Israeli) demonology. The evidence most commonly cited in support of it was provided by a German monk called Ekkehard, who described what appeared to be a passage of migration. He attributed the involvement of the poor in the First Crusade to disorder, to an epidemic of ergotism which was sweeping western Europe and to economic distress.

The western Franks could easily be persuaded to leave their farms. For the Gauls had been severely afflicted for some years by civil sedition, hunger and death. Finally that plague, which burst out at Nivelles . . . terrified men to the despair of their lives . . . [He went on to describe ergotism] . . . Some of the ordinary people and other persons in those nations to which the pope had not directly appealed acknowledged themselves to be summoned to the Promised Land by certain prophets newly arisen among them, by signs in the heavens and by revelations, while others recognized that they had been impelled to take such vows [to crusade] by all kinds of inconveniences; certainly very many of them travelled weighed down by wives, children and all their domestic goods.²⁵

The economic distress in France at the time was also referred to in an account, written ten years after the event, of the sermon at Clermont in which Pope Urban first called for crusaders.²⁶ Several years of drought had certainly led to poor harvests and shortages, and hence to the ergotism, a terrifying condition which could lead to insanity and death and was brought on by eating bread made from rye which had not had ergot removed from it. The poor were very numerous in all the armies of the First Crusade, although there were few if any of them on the other crusades before 1131: the cost of buying passage when contingents were being transported by sea must have been prohibitive. It is possible that between 1096 and 1101 many of them took advantage of the chance to seek a new life for themselves, but we actually know very little about them, let alone their ideas and aspirations. They appear often enough in the narrative accounts, but usually only as an amorphous mass causing

²⁵ Ekk H 17.

²⁶ RR 728.

problems for the leaders, particularly when it came to feeding them. Their needs were built into the penitential calendar of the First Crusade; alms, often linked to fasts and processions, were provided before important engagements and large foraging parties were organized for their benefit.²⁷ They must have suffered a very high death rate and it is hard to envisage the survivors having the means or energy to return home once the campaign was over. Some certainly remained in northern Syria when the armies marched south; others must have stayed on in Palestine when the crusaders who could afford it left for home.

Another group brought into the argument are the sailors and merchants of the Italian maritime cities, which were already climbing to prominence in the revival of Mediterranean trade and were quickly involved: Genoa in 1098, Pisa in 1099 and Venice in 1100. It has often been pointed out that the First Crusade provided Genoa and Pisa with the opportunity to join Venice on the profitable eastern trade routes. The three cities soon established factories on the Levantine coast and were granted commercial privileges in return for their assistance in taking the ports.²⁸ But Genoa and Pisa certainly, and Venice possibly, had not taken any initiative; they had responded to direct appeals from the pope for help in provisioning the armies and their own accounts described their participation in ideological terms.²⁹ The Levantine ports were to become sources of great profit for them, but in the 1090s they were not in the same league as the Egyptian ones. It was to be the changes in the Asiatic trade routes seventy years later which made the larger ports of Palestine and Syria the terminuses of the main spice roads from the Far East.

The evidence for the armsbearers being knowingly engaged from the first in a colonial venture is even weaker than that for the poor or the merchants. There is a hostile contemporary reference to Bohemond of Taranto in the *Gesta* of Geoffrey Malaterra, a Norman monk settled in southern Italy and a partisan of Bohemond's uncle and political opponent, Roger I of Sicily. Geoffrey stated bluntly that Bohemond took the cross only because he wanted to carve a territory for himself out of the Byzantine empire.

Bohemond, who already shortly before this had invaded the Byzantine

²⁷ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 68.

²⁸ M.-L. Favreau-Lilie *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land* (Amsterdam, 1989), *passim*.

²⁹ See for example Caffaro, 'De liberatione', *passim*; *Historia de translatione* *passim*.

empire with [Robert] Guiscard his father and always wanted to subjugate it to himself, seeing a large number [of crusaders] hurrying [to Greece] through Apulia, but without a head, wanted to become their leader by binding them to him. He placed the symbol of that expedition, a cross, on his clothes.³⁰

Bohemond was a disappointed man, whose father had left him his conquests from the Greeks on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, which were soon lost, while his younger half-brother had inherited the duchy of Apulia. He had created a large and possibly independent principality for himself in the far south of Italy, including the cities of Bari and Taranto, but he did not have the status he must have craved;³¹ an admirer wrote of him that he was 'always seeking the impossible'.³² Another man who may have been after a principality elsewhere was Baldwin of Boulogne, whose elder brothers were count of Boulogne and duke of Lower Lorraine. He had also been disappointed at home because as someone originally destined for the Church he had not shared in the partition of the family lands.³³ But otherwise there is little to go on. Even the Montlhéry clan, which was to exploit the movement in such an extraordinary way, seems at first to have been drawn to crusading primarily by its spiritual benefits.

It should be remembered that although the First Crusade began the process by which western Europeans conquered and settled many of the coastal territories of the eastern Mediterranean, it is very unlikely that this was planned from the start. I have already pointed out that the pope and the military leaders must have thought that once the armies reached Constantinople they would be elements in a much larger force under the command of the Byzantine emperor, to whose empire Jerusalem had once belonged, and that from then on the campaign would be one which, if successful, would restore Greek rule to the Levant. It was only when the westerners discovered that the emperor was not interested in leading them and was not prepared to send with them anything more than a comparatively small force of Greeks that they made the decision to strike out on their own: they were still hoping that he and his army would join

³⁰ Geoffrey Malaterra, 'De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius', 102.

³¹ D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), 18–19.

³² Romoald of Salerno, 'Annales', 415.

³³ H. E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem (Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* NS 5, Paris, 1984), 13–31.

them when they were at Antioch over a year later. Most crusaders returned to Europe once the campaign was over; according to one account 20,000 of them (obviously an exaggeration) were assembling in the autumn of 1099 at Latakia in Syria on their way home.³⁴ By the summer of 1100 it was reported that there were only 300 western knights and the same number of foot in those parts of southern Palestine under Christian control. Of course there had also been settlement in Syria and northern Iraq, and settlers were moving into Galilee, while 300 knights would comprise 25 per cent of the 1,200 who were reported besieging Jerusalem a year before. But there had been reinforcements over the intervening winter and spring. More to the point, an analysis of the individuals about whom something is known suggests that most crusaders left as soon as they could.

I have identified 549 men and women who definitely took the cross for the First Crusade, and a further 110 who probably, and 132 who possibly, did so. Of these 791 individuals, 104 at most are known to have settled in the East. Fifteen stayed for only a few years before returning to the West; some of them may have been contributing to the new settlements' defence as a religious duty. Of the eighty-nine who appear to have settled more permanently, eleven belonged to the households of great magnates who for one reason or another decided to remain and twenty-one were churchmen. It looks as though at least some of the remaining fifty-seven regarded settlement in the East as an ideologically motivated 'exile' for the faith, and others, for instance Raymond of St Gilles and perhaps Ralph of Aalst, were elderly and may have been attracted to Jerusalem as a place in which to die. Of course there was also colonization, but most settlers were not crusaders. Of 697 settlers in Palestine and Syria (from before 1131) known to me, only 122 — a figure which includes the 104 first crusaders — had taken the cross. In other words we have evidence of only eighteen additional crusaders settling in the East between 1102 and 1131.

A second modern explanation of motive is that the early crusades were little more than large-scale plundering expeditions, with which western knights were already familiar from their forays into Spain and elsewhere.³⁵ The bishops at the council of Clermont had certainly been concerned that men might join the crusade 'for money'³⁶ and there can be no doubt that it attracted violent

³⁴ AA 503.

³⁵ France, *Victory in the East*, 11–16.

³⁶ *Decreta Claromontensia* 74.

individuals. There were no means available for screening recruits for suitability, other than the decisions of magnates on the composition of their households; indeed there could not have been, because as pilgrimages crusades had to be open to all, even psychopaths. The appetites of the violent may well have been sharpened by disorientation, fear and stress as they sacked their way to the East. The vicious persecution of Jews in France and Germany, which opened the march of some of the armies, was motivated largely by a desire for vengeance, but it was all the same marked by looting and extortion,³⁷ and the passage of the crusaders through the Balkans was punctuated by outbreaks of pillaging. Eyewitness accounts often contain descriptions of the knights' desire for booty, as in a message passed down the lines on 1 July 1097 before the first major battle beyond Nicaea: 'Today, if God pleases, you will all become rich men.'³⁸ Jerusalem itself was comprehensively sacked two years later and, according to a contemporary, 'many poor men were made rich', although he was referring to the occupation of houses in the city.³⁹ The victory over the Egyptian counter-invasion force a month later was reported to have been rewarded with large quantities of spoil.⁴⁰ How much an army coming up from Egypt really could have carried with it, how much of this loot would have been dissipated on the return journey and how a man could anyway have found the physical means to carry his share home to Europe with him are other questions. I will show later how few of the crusaders who returned to the West seem to have brought treasure or valuables back with them. It was reported that many in the exodus from Palestine in the autumn of 1099 were impoverished by the time they reached northern Syria.⁴¹

The reality was that, because the earliest crusaders had no proper system of provisioning, foraging was essential for their survival. While in Christian territory they were dependent on hand-outs from local rulers; once in the devastated no-man's land that Asia Minor was becoming they were far from any worthwhile rendezvous-point with European shipping until they reached Antioch; and then they were near one which brought them only limited supplies, although they were now in touch with Cyprus, which seems to have been quite a generous provider. All the leaders, from great to small, had to live

³⁷ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 52–3.

³⁸ GF 19–20.

³⁹ FC 304.

⁴⁰ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 122.

⁴¹ OV 5.270–6. For the payments they making for provisions, see AA 499–500, 503–4.

with the fact that their followers expected from them at the very least a subsistence level of provisioning. This alone would have accounted for an obsession with plunder.

A third popular twentieth-century explanation of the attraction of crusading is that families, growing larger and worried about the pressure on their lands, adopted strategies which encouraged or forced unwanted male members to seek their fortunes elsewhere and that crusading provided these supernumeraries with an outlet.⁴² I shall demonstrate that far from being an economic safety-valve crusading cost the families of volunteers a lot in financial terms. The only strategy for which there is evidence is one in which the kindred cooperated in damage-limitation once a relation had taken the cross.

A feature common to all these explanations of motives is that in them the popularity of crusading is exaggerated. Although it was an activity which appealed to people living in many different parts of western Europe and to intellectuals at the same time as to the general public, inspiring men and women with a wide range of perceptions, cerebral and emotional, there was always a majority which was not prepared to engage in something so inconvenient, dangerous and expensive. We do not, in other words, have to find explanations for motivation which would cover all western society or some lowest common denominator. Crusaders were members of a group defined by its commitment to a demanding and unpleasant activity and many of those who answered the popes' summonses must have regretted the vows they had made on the spur of the moment in fevered public gatherings fired by the preaching of churchmen, who were employing all the razzmatazz needed to create religious hysteria. But a collective ethos, conditioned by internal traditions and conventions, can lie behind even spontaneous decisions. I shall point out how many early crusaders are clustered into certain kindred groups. The most likely reason for this seems to be that some families were predisposed in various ways to respond favourably to the call to take the cross. Once it had been taken, the dynamics of the collective would anyway come into play, because each decision could not be divorced from the group, or often interlocking groups, to which a crusader belonged. There are many examples of them rallying round to provide support. Crusading relied to a peculiar degree on a combination of individual sponta-

⁴² G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society* (London, 1977), 120.

neity and collective collaboration. Following where the material leads me I hope to demonstrate how essential was the part played by kindreds, how reliant the Church was on them, and how in all of this there were opportunities for them to exploit the movement to their advantage. But first it will be necessary to explain how in the eleventh century the armsbearing classes in general, and these cousinhoods in particular, were being prepared subconsciously to be receptive to the call to crusade.

Chapter 2— Holy Sepulchre; Holy War

Jerusalem

On 15 July 1149, the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem and twenty years after Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire had been buried on the Mount of Olives, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was nearing completion, was consecrated. The event should have been an occasion for rejoicing, but the king of Jerusalem may have been already hurrying north to Syria, where another prince of Antioch had just fallen in battle with the Muslims, and the king of France, the last of the leaders of a recent crusade to leave, had embarked for home. That crusade, eloquently preached by Bernard of Clairvaux and planned to be fought on a stupendous scale in three separate theatres-of-war, had been a fiasco and Catholic Christianity was demoralized and in crisis.¹

Nevertheless, the church is a confident and profound theological statement in stone. Before the crusaders took Jerusalem a compound had enclosed several separate shrines, the most venerated of which was Christ's tomb, or what remained of it, detached in the fourth century by the Emperor Constantine's engineers from the rest of the quarry wall out of which it had been hollowed, and encased in an aedicule, a small free-standing chapel which now stood under a rotunda built in the mid-eleventh century. Nearby was the site of the crucifixion, the chapel of Calvary on top of the rock column to which the hill of Golgotha had been reduced, and, somewhat apart, the ruins of Constantine's basilica, built over the spot where his mother had reputedly discovered the wood of the True Cross in 320. Now, with Jerusalem under Latin rule, the locations of Christ's death and resurrection were physically related to each other for the first time under a single roof in one enormous, sumptuously decorated build-

¹ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951–4), 2.247–88. For the church, see V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro a Gerusalemme* (Jerusalem, 1981–2), part I *passim*.

ing, the apotheosis of shrine churches. An outside stair led directly up to the Calvary chapel. After venerating the site of the crucifixion there, pilgrims descended and entered the body of the church, past a crack in the living rock which was said to have split open at the moment of Christ's death and was considered to be still spattered with the dried remnants of his blood. They walked round a long ambulatory out of which opened chapels, two of which contained reliquaries of the True Cross, one fragment being that found soon after the crusaders had liberated Jerusalem. They went down a flight of steps leading to the site of the original discovery of the cross and then, returning to ground level and passing the spot where Christ's corpse was supposed to have been anointed before burial, they reached the aedicule of the Sepulchre itself.

One cannot go through the mouth of the cave except by bending one's knees. But on entering one finds the hoped-for treasure, the Sepulchre in which our most kind Lord Jesus Christ rested for three days. It is marvellously decorated with Parian marble, gold and precious stones. In its side there are three round holes through which the pilgrims can offer the stones on which the Lord lay the kisses they have longed to give.²

It was here that there took place each year on Holy Saturday the miracle of the Holy Fire, the auto-lighting of one of the seven lamps in the aedicule during the liturgy of the sacred fire which, throughout the rest of Christendom, depends on the striking of flint. This, a wonder to Muslims as well as to Christians for centuries, was preceded on Good Friday by the extinguishing of the lamps in the aedicule, which was locked and would not be opened again until the miracle had taken place, although it had little windows through which the flickering light of one of the wicks could be seen once it had been kindled. In the early twelfth century the Easter Vigil would begin in a crowded rotunda at nine o'clock on Holy Saturday morning. Although the timing of the arrival of the fire could be quite erratic and it was even known to flare up at one of the other holy places in the city such as the Temple or the church of St John,³ it usually came to the Sepulchre in the afternoon. At about three o'clock, after the appointed readings, sung alternately in Greek and Latin, and their associated psalms and prayers, a Greek cantor standing in one part of the rotunda would start to chant the triple appeal *Kyrie eleison* with its response, which heralded the fire's

² Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, 12–13.

³ Theoderic 22.

appearance. At the same time the patriarch would approach the aedicule, carrying a candle and preceded by the True Cross. Once the miracle had taken place he would enter and light his candle from the lamp, before passing the light on to the candles of all those present and then processing with it across Jerusalem to the Temple.⁴

This marvellous church, the centre of the world, the focus of God's intervention in history, a stone reliquary encasing the tomb where Christ's body had been transfigured and the hill of Calvary stained with his blood, was also a memorial to the First Crusade and those who had taken part in it. Without the first crusaders the new church of the Holy Sepulchre would never have been built, just as without the Sepulchre they would never have fought their way to Jerusalem.

In 1009, one hundred and forty years before the consecration of the great new church, the Sepulchre had been vandalized on the orders of the Fatimid caliph Hakim, who had set upon Christians in a persecution which only ended in 1017 after he had become convinced that he himself was God incarnate and had turned on the Muslims as well. The cave-tomb had been levelled almost to the ground, so that only the floor and the lower part of its walls survived. As the news of its destruction reached the West it gave rise to an extraordinary rumour. It was said that Hakim was reacting to false information sent by western Jews — in one account the community in Orléans — who had bribed a pilgrim to carry messages hidden in a hollow staff warning him that a western army was being raised to conquer the Levant. Although it is not entirely clear what then transpired, a wave of persecution broke on parts of France, with Jews being driven from the cities and treated so savagely that some of them committed suicide. There were also attempts to convert them and some bishops forbade any Christian to have dealings with them unless they were baptized. Bishop Hilduin of Limoges, who had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his brother the viscount some years before, gave the Jews in his city the choice of conversion or expulsion and subjected them to a month of disputations with doctors of theology. Only three or four were baptized, although the number of converts may have been higher elsewhere. At any rate some Jewish commu-

⁴ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'The Latin Clergy and the Settlement in Palestine and Syria, 1098–1100', *Catholic Historical Review* 74 (1988), 551–4. See also B. Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994), 709–10.

nities in France appear to have been decimated; that in Orléans almost ceased to exist.⁵ An outburst of ferocious anti-Judaism, again associated with concern for the Holy Sepulchre, was to feature eighty-six years later, in the early stages of the First Crusade.

The destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and the persecution of the Christians in Palestine interrupted a flow of pilgrims to Jerusalem which seems to have been on the way to becoming a flood in the last decade or so of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh. The increased traffic probably reflected anxiety that the Last Days were near as the Millennium approached, for it was to be in Jerusalem that the final acts in this dimension — the appearance of Anti-Christ, the return of the Saviour, the earliest splitting of tombs and reassembling of bones and dust in the General Resurrection — would take place. Pilgrims had of course been visiting Jerusalem for centuries and centres of its cult had already been established in western Europe, but contemporary piety encouraged the almost feverish obsession with the holy places which was to be one of the marks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Men and women were acutely conscious that a feature of their society was a predisposition to sin, not only because it was violent and because standards and paths to preferment were conditioned by a martial class, but also because the Church, increasingly under the influence of monks and engaged in a programme of evangelizing the secular world, was asking of them impossibly high standards of behaviour. In a developing economy churchmen had the resources, as well as the structures, to engage in an effective mission and they had evolved the techniques they needed to touch the minds of many lay men and women, who were becoming profoundly anxious about a sinfulness from which they could never escape unless they withdrew from the world into the religious life. On the other hand, the pastoral measures needed to calm the consciences of those who had been aroused had not yet been developed. One of the achievements of the twelfth century was the provision of palliatives: the mature indulgence; more regular recourse to confession; the growing use of the Mass as a comparatively inexpensive but efficacious means of interceding for sin; a refined view of purgatory, now clearly identified and

⁵ Ralph Glaber, *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, 132–6; Adhémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, 169–71. See D. F. Callahan, 'Ademar of Chabannes, Millennial Fears and the Development of Western Anti-Judaism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 23–34. For Hilduin's pilgrimage, see Adhémar of Chabannes 162.

geographically located; the emergence of 'layness' as a vocation in itself and the consequential increase in the number of lay religious associations and of specifically lay devotions. But in the eleventh century there was a gap between the demands of the Church and the means available to lay men and women to help them meet those demands.

A society in which there was no privacy, little literacy and no cheap books found it hard to cope with regular private devotions; piety expressed itself publicly, through attendance at Mass and participation in pilgrimages, which were for most people the natural ways of showing religious feeling and sorrow for sin. There was a constant traffic between the local cult-centres which dotted every region of western Europe, but many pilgrims travelled further afield to shrines of international importance, although they might begin these journeys by visiting local ones, often with some associated significance, as Duke Robert I of Normandy did when he went to Fécamp, a centre for the veneration of Christ's blood, at the start of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1035.⁶ Pilgrimages were stimulated by, and they reinforced, the relations of the laity with their local religious communities, which were often the guardians of shrines and to which they were anyway growing increasingly close. If they were planning to travel long distances on pilgrimage, they would ask if they might benefit from the monks' prayers or borrow money from them. They might also make endowments as acts of gratitude for their safe return.⁷

What drew them to the cult centres were not only the devotional and penitential aspects of a temporary and often demanding exile on the road, but also the relics held at them and the miracles performed by the saints they represented, such as Faith at Conques, Benedict at Fleury and Cuthbert at Durham, which ranged from idiosyncratic, sometimes capricious and even vengeful acts of protection to cures.⁸ On the other hand, while miracles sometimes occurred at or near the greatest long-distance shrines, Compostela, Rome and Jerusalem, it was usual to go to Rome or Jerusalem not for miraculous assistance but out of devotion and for forgiveness. Count Fulk III, who ruled Anjou for fifty-three years with energetic

⁶ St Saviour-le-Vicomte 12.

⁷ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 205–49; and M. G. Bull, 'Origins', *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995), 13–33.

⁸ B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind* (London, 1982), 33–66.

violence, combined ferocity with exceptional piety, so that during his life acts of bestial cruelty regularly alternated with extravagant expressions of devotion.⁹ The motive for his first pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre six or seven years before its destruction by Hakim was fear of Hell resulting from all the blood he had shed.¹⁰ The vandalizing of the Sepulchre did not lessen the attraction it had for him in the least or the obligation he felt under to do penance there. He made three more journeys to Jerusalem and it was said that on his last, when he was an old man approaching the end of his life, he stripped himself naked and had himself led to the Sepulchre by a halter looped round his neck, while a servant scourged his back and he called on Christ to accept his penance.¹¹ Count Thierry of Trier, who had killed his archbishop in 1059, made the journey,¹² as did a citizen of Cologne in c.1080 who had disposed of his brother; his sentence was a multiple pilgrimage to all the great shrines with the weapons he had used chained to his body.¹³ In c.1030 a Norman clerk wanted 'to lament my sins, weeping at the most holy places'.¹⁴ In 1039 Guy I of Laval set out 'not despairing of the Lord's mercy but desiring to obtain remission of punishment' and his charter confirmed a renunciation of a right unjustly claimed.¹⁵ In 1064 Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz was going 'to cure me of my sins'; he wanted 'to venerate and kiss the sacred Sepulchre'.¹⁶ In c.1080 Bishop Raymond Ebo of Lectoure wished to go to Jerusalem 'on account of my sins'¹⁷ and in 1087 Herbert of Sennecé stood 'silently bewailing the enormity of his sins' before the altar of the church of Beaujeu before leaving for the East.¹⁸

Pilgrims to Jerusalem were, broadly speaking, of three types. The first, represented by Fulk of Anjou, Thierry of Trier and the townsman of Cologne, were those performing a penance imposed on them by a confessor. By the thirteenth century this category had been defined and further subdivided into three, depending on the

⁹ Anjou (Halphen) 126–32.

¹⁰ Ralph Glaber 60. Bull (*Knightly Piety*, 207) suggests that this might have been a formal penance.

¹¹ WMGR 2.292–3.

¹² *Annales Hildesheimenses* 47; Berthold, 'Annales', 275–6; Bernold of St Blasien 429–30; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', 361–2.

¹³ WMGP 425–6. It was supposed by some that Robert of Normandy had gone in 1035 to fulfil a penance imposed for the murder of his brother. CGCA 50. See D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), 32.

¹⁴ Normandy 241.

¹⁵ Le Mans Cart 1.2.

¹⁶ *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* 1.190.

¹⁷ St Sernin de Toulouse 98 (for the date, see p. clx).

¹⁸ Beaujeu 17.

nature of the sin and the status of the confessor. The second, often hard to distinguish from the first because there was a penitential element in their journeys as well, were those engaged in what was called a *peregrinatio religiosa*, an act of devotion undertaken voluntarily and perhaps vowed, but not enjoined by a confessor. The third were those who were going to Jerusalem to live there until they died; the special position of the city in the geography of providence meant that it was a place in which devout Christians wanted to be buried.¹⁹ To this day one can visit the charnel pits, still filled with the bones of the pious, in the crypt of the twelfth-century Hospitaller church outside Jerusalem at the site the pilgrims identified as Acheldamach. So when fear of the Last Days welled up it was Jerusalem that people sought. The contemporary chronicler Ralph Glaber wrote that people believed in the 1030s that the large numbers now visiting Jerusalem were evidence that Anti-Christ would soon appear; the scholar and chronicler Adhémar of Chabannes seems to have been moved to go himself for this reason.²⁰ The great pilgrimage of 1064 was triggered by the conviction that Easter Day 1065 was going to fall on exactly the same date as it had in AD 33 and that this presaged the end of the world.²¹

After the low point in eleventh-century pilgrimaging which followed Hakim's destruction of the Sepulchre,²² the stream was bound to swell again, and in the mid-1020s there is evidence for many pilgrims on the move.²³ They included men and women from Autun,²⁴ Tours,²⁵ Limoges²⁶ and possibly Poitou.²⁷ In 1026 there was a pilgrimage of 700 persons, financed by the duke of Normandy and led by Richard, the abbot of St Vanne of Verdun,

¹⁹ C. Vogel, 'Le pèlerinage pénitentiel', *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fino all'la crociata* (Todi, 1963), 37–94. For Jerusalem as a shrine in which to die, see also Ward, *Miracles*, 124–5.

²⁰ Ralph Glaber 204; Callahan, 'Ademar of Chabannes' 21–2, 25.

²¹ 'Vita Altmanni episcopi Pataviensis' 230. In a descriptive phrase prefiguring the crusaders, they 'crucem baiolantes Christum secuti sunt'.

²² The following evidence survives for pilgrims between 1009 and 1024: Carcassonne 1.80; 'Passio S. Cholomanni' 675–6; Ramsey Cart 3.173; Ramsey Chron 124, 340; St Florent-lès-Saumur Hist 267–8; St Julien de Tours 15–17; Monte Cassino 229–30. See M. A. F. de Gaujul, *Etudes historiques sur le Rouergue* (Paris, 1858), 2.38. Halphen (Anjou (Halphen) 214–15 n.3) thought that no one pilgrimaged in the aftermath of the Sepulchre's destruction and so may have dismissed too easily a dating of Fulk III of Anjou's second pilgrimage to 1014–15. The pilgrimage of St Haimerad (Ekkebert, 'Vita sancti Haimeradi presbiteri', 600) should probably be dated before 1009.

²³ See Ralph Glaber 198–200; Le Ronceray d'Angers 22; Hugh of Flavigny, 'Chronicon', 393.

²⁴ Hugh of Flavigny 393; Ralph Glaber 200.

²⁵ St. Julien de Tours 16.

²⁶ Adhémar of Chabannes 194; Aumônerie de St Martial de Limoges 15.

²⁷ Adhémar of Chabannes 194.

and his bishop.²⁸ Perhaps because of Richard's reputation for sanctity, this journey seems to have been a particularly other-worldly experience.²⁹ He was joined on the road by pilgrims from northern France³⁰ and by a large party, mostly from Angoulême and led by Count William IV Taillefer but also including the great lord Eudes of Déols from near Paris.³¹ At Antioch the pilgrims befriended a Sicilian Greek monk from Mt Sinai called Symeon, who was planning to go to Normandy to collect the alms which the duke regularly sent to his monastery. Symeon joined them on their way back and travelled to the West with them. He settled at Trier, and one of the leaders of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon, apparently carried some of his bones with him back to the East.³²

Although from the 1020s onwards there is hardly a year when we do not have evidence for pilgrims, there were certain periods when enthusiasm was reaching fever pitch. The year 1033 was believed to be the thousandth anniversary of Christ's crucifixion and throughout the decade pilgrims from many parts of the West were converging on Jerusalem: from Metz,³³ Paderborn,³⁴ Orléans,³⁵ Auvergne,³⁶ Limoges,³⁷ Normandy,³⁸ Anjou,³⁹ Maine,⁴⁰ Burgundy,⁴¹ Flanders⁴² and Verdun.⁴³ The next major wave appears to have surged East in the 1050s,⁴⁴ by which time the shrines in Jerusalem had been partially restored by the Byzantine emperor. Pilgrims can be identified from Rouergue,⁴⁵ Lorraine,⁴⁶ Cambrai,⁴⁷ Bavaria and Normandy,⁴⁸

²⁸ Adhémar of Chabannes 189–90; Hugh of Flavigny 393–7; Hariulf, *Chronicon Centulense*, 210–11.

²⁹ Hugh of Flavigny 393–7.

³⁰ Hariulf 210–11; Hugh of Flavigny 393–4.

³¹ Adhémar of Chabannes 189–90, 192, 194; St Cybard d'Angoulême 206.

³² Hugh of Flavigny 394, 397; Eberwin, 'Ex miraculis sancti Symeonis', 209–11; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 93.

³³ 'Notitiae fundationis monasterii Bosonis-Villae' 977–8.

³⁴ *Vita Meinwerici episcopi Patherbrunnensis* 128–9; Busdorf in Paderborn 1.7.

³⁵ 'Un pèlerinage à Jérusalem dans la première moitié du XIe siècle' 204–6.

³⁶ *Gallia Christiana* 2, Instrumenta, 105.

³⁷ See Callahan, 'Ademar of Chabannes', 22.

³⁸ Jumièges 1.99; St Saviour-le-Vicomte 12; Ralph Glaber 202–4; William of Jumièges 111–14; OV 2.10, 116; Normandy 231, 235, 333, 439. See St Martin de Pontoise 1.

³⁹ Third pilgrimage of Fulk III: CGCA 50–1. Fourth pilgrimage of Fulk III: St Maur-sur-Loire 356; Ralph Glaber 212–14; WMGR 2.292–3.

⁴⁰ APC 359, 370; Château-du-Loir 7; Le Mans Cart 1.1–3; Le Mans Liber 24, 97.

⁴¹ Paray-le-Monial 59; Cluny 4.123.

⁴² St Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin 110.

⁴³ 'Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium' 49.

⁴⁴ 'Vita Theoderici abbatis Andaginensis' 44.

⁴⁵ Villeneuve d'Aveyron 538–9.

⁴⁶ 'Vita Theoderici' 44.

⁴⁷ *Acta SS Junii* 4.595–9.

⁴⁸ OV 2.68–72, 254.

England⁴⁹ and northern France.⁵⁰ Then in 1064 there was a large pilgrimage, recruited in France and Germany; the German contingent, led by the bishop of Bamberg, accompanied by the archbishop of Mainz, the bishops of Utrecht and Regensburg, and the empress's chaplain, was estimated — probably grossly overestimated — to contain between 7,000 and 12,000 persons.⁵¹

In the 1070s passage across Asia Minor, now being overrun by nomadic Turks, must have become much more difficult, but the traffic does not seem to have lessened and it certainly increased again in the 1080s and early 1090s, when many pilgrims were making the journey from Robert I of Flanders's pilgrimage in 1085 onwards.⁵² They were setting out from Toul,⁵³ Cambrai,⁵⁴ Luxembourg,⁵⁵ Münster,⁵⁶ Mainz,⁵⁷ Swabia,⁵⁸ Navarre,⁵⁹ southern Italy,⁶⁰ Velay,⁶¹ the Lyonnais,⁶² Nevers,⁶³ Poitou,⁶⁴ the Saintonge,⁶⁵ the Limousin,⁶⁶ Languedoc,⁶⁷ Burgundy⁶⁸ and possibly Normandy.⁶⁹ The departure of the First Crusade in 1096 was, therefore, the last of the waves of pilgrims which had regularly surged to the East for seventy years.

Enthusiasm in Europe was fuelled by the arrival of relics from Jerusalem.⁷⁰ On one of his pilgrimages Fulk III of Anjou brought back 'a large piece' of the Sepulchre, which he must have picked out of the rubble, and a relic of the Manger at Bethlehem,⁷¹ and he returned from another with a fragment of the True Cross.⁷² In the later 1020s Bishop Ulric of Orléans gave his church one of the Sepulchre's lamps which had been lit by the Holy Fire, together with its oil.⁷³ In 1027 Richard of St Vanne brought back relics, among

⁴⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 124,134; Florence of Worcester 1.217.

⁵⁰ *Acta SS Junii* 4.599; Noyon 155.

⁵¹ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 66–71; Lampert of Hersfeld 92–100; Marianus Scottus, 'Chronicon', 558–9; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', 361; 'Vita Altmanni' 230; *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* 1.199–200; OV 2.90.

⁵² Kb 187–90; 'Genealogiae comitum Flandriae' 323.

⁵³ 'Gesta episcoporum Tullensium' 647; Bar 1.16; St Mihiel 165.

⁵⁴ 'Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii' 543.

⁵⁵ Marcigny 27; 'Gesta episcoporum Tullensium' 647.

⁵⁶ 'Annalista Saxo' 727; Cosmas of Prague, 'Chronica Boemorum', 100.

⁵⁷ *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* 1.297.

⁵⁸ Bernold of St Blasien 455.

⁵⁹ Leire 210.

⁶⁰ OV 4.66.

⁶¹ St Chaffre du Monastier 13–4.

⁶² Beaujeu 13, 17.

⁶³ La Charité-sur-Loire 96–7.

⁶⁴ Noyers 279; Maillezais 236–7.

⁶⁵ St Jean d'Angély 30.231; St Florent-lès-Saumur (Saintongeaises) 22, 41.

⁶⁶ Aureil 174; Tulle 60, 83, 255, 266; GV 12.425.

⁶⁷ Auch 9.44.

⁶⁸ St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 90–1; St Philibert de Tournus (Chifflet), Preuves, 329–30.

⁶⁹ OV 4.306–8.

⁷⁰ See A. H. Bredero, *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Grand Rapids, 1994), 91–5.

⁷¹ Toussaint d'Angers 147.

⁷² CGCA 51.

⁷³ Ralph Glaber 202.

which was a piece of the True Cross, concealed in a bag hanging round his neck.⁷⁴ In the early 1030s Hervey, archdeacon of Orléans, founded the priory of Notre-Dame de la Ferté-Avrain to house the relics he had acquired in Jerusalem.⁷⁵ While Adalbert of Metz was making the pilgrimage shortly before 1033 'on account of his love of the Holy Sepulchre', his wife Judith remained at home and founded a community at Bouzonville (Busendorf) dedicated to the cross. During his stay in Jerusalem Adalbert was given a piece of the True Cross by the patriarch and this was the start of a family devotion to it — members were often buried at the abbey — which was perhaps to influence those of his descendants who crusaded in the twelfth century.⁷⁶ The abbey of Moissac in Languedoc must have been typical of many in the impressive collection of relics of Jerusalem it had assembled by 1100. It had pieces of the True Cross, the Manger at Bethlehem, the Crown of Thorns, Christ's clothes and a palm he had held, and stones from the Column of the Flagellation, the Sepulchre and Calvary.⁷⁷

The growing interest in the Sepulchre was marked by the many benefactions made to it. Duke Richard II of Normandy sent 100 pounds of gold, perhaps at the time he financed Richard of St Vanne's pilgrimage in 1026,⁷⁸ and Bishop Aldred of Worcester presented a gold chalice worth 5 marks when he went to Jerusalem in 1058.⁷⁹ In 1053 a priory in Rouergue was founded as a proprietary church of the Sepulchre itself, to which it was expected to pay an annual *census* of a gold besant; its priors were to be subject to the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem.⁸⁰ The patriarch had more possessions in western Europe than is generally realized: Moissac managed one of his properties for him and expected to transfer the rent from it to his envoy each year.⁸¹ In 1079 Pope Gregory VII confirmed the subjection to Jerusalem of another proprietary church of the Sepulchre, in the county of La Marche, although he himself seems to

⁷⁴ Hugh of Flavigny 396.

⁷⁵ 'Un pèlerinage à Jérusalem' 205–6.

⁷⁶ 'Notitiae foundationis monasterii Bosonis-Villae' 977–80. Another fragment of the cross, presented to him on the way home by the Byzantine emperor, was brought back by Pibo of Toul in 1086. 'Gesta episcoporum Tullensium' 647.

⁷⁷ A. Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades: the Encyclical of Sergius IV', *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), 24 and note 97.

⁷⁸ Ralph Glaber 36. Fulk III of Anjou was generous to the churches in Jerusalem on his visit in 1039. Ralph Glaber 214.

⁷⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 134.

⁸⁰ Villeneuve d'Aveyron 538–9.

⁸¹ Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades', 6.25–6.

have provided its prior.⁸² A third proprietary church may have been established at Commisago; it was granted by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem to the abbey of San Benigno di Fruttuaria in 1112.⁸³ These churches were among many dedicated to the Sepulchre and often founded by pilgrims: the monastery beside his castle built by Gerard of Fontvannes and his wife and given to the abbey of Bèze in 1027–8;⁸⁴ the church at Jaligny founded in 1036 by a pilgrim called Hictor;⁸⁵ the abbey of Beaulieu and the priory of Langeais established by Fulk III of Anjou;⁸⁶ the monastery founded in 1055 by Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and two of his lay companions;⁸⁷ and the priory close to the castle at Beaugency built in the 1070s by Lancelin of Beaugency, among whose descendants were several first crusaders⁸⁸ — his son Ralph was to endow it on his return from the First Crusade.⁸⁹ The measurements of the Sepulchre, paced out by Abbot Wyno of Helmarshausen on the 1033 pilgrimage, were used to build the Jerusalem church at Busdorf near Paderborn; Wyno had been commissioned by Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn to get them.⁹⁰ Interest also manifested itself from around 1060 in the appearance of 'Jerusalem' as a female name. Three geographically isolated cases, from Blois,⁹¹ the Saintonge⁹² and the Dauphine,⁹³ are known; the son, grandson and daughter-in-law of one of these women made the pilgrimage in the early 1090s.⁹⁴

In their preparations pilgrims employed measures which were to be put to use on a larger scale in the months before the First Crusade. Arrangements had to be made for the management of their lands while they were away: in 1090 Peter Carbonel left his brother, a knight called Boniface, in charge of his property.⁹⁵ The journey must have been expensive, but I know of only four pledge-charters, all involving *vifgages*, in which the lenders occupied the properties

⁸² Greg Reg 457–8.

⁸³ *Bibliotheca Sebusiana* 378–9.

⁸⁴ Bèze Liber 551–2.

⁸⁵ *Gallia Christiana* 2, Instrumenta, 105. For the date, see Bourbonnais 109–10.

⁸⁶ Toussaint d'Angers 147–8; CGCA 51.

⁸⁷ *Acta SS Junii* 4.600.

⁸⁸ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.3–6. By the 1050s a church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre had also been built at Calahorra. Rioja 2.44.

⁸⁹ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.108–9.

⁹⁰ Busdorf in Paderborn 1.1–2, 7, 10 and see 13; *Vita Meinweri* 128–9. For another set of measurements, see GF 103.

⁹¹ Marmoutier (Blésois) 76; Marmoutier (Dunois) 147–8.

⁹² La Trinité de Vendôme (Saintongeais) 36, 50; Notre-Dame de Saintes 98, and see pp. 95–7.

⁹³ Les Ecouges 83.

⁹⁴ Maillezais 236–7.

⁹⁵ St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 90.

themselves and profited from them until the loans were redeemed;⁹⁶ two borrowers, in an arrangement which was to be familiar in crusade agreements, willed the property concerned to the lenders after their deaths, even if it had been redeemed in the meantime.⁹⁷ One charter included a clause, which must have already been a standard formula, covering the eventuality that the pilgrim might settle in the Holy Land.⁹⁸

It was to become common for recruits to the early crusades to renounce disputes with churches over rights to which they had doubtful claims. I know of only four renunciations of this type made by pilgrims before 1095, all but one apparently dating from the decade before the First Crusade, evidence perhaps of the growing influence of churchmen as the eleventh-century reform movement gained ground and doubts spread whether laymen could legitimately possess churches and tithes.⁹⁹ Only one of the renunciations seems to have been made in exchange for money,¹⁰⁰ the others being motivated by the natural desire of pilgrims to leave with clear consciences.¹⁰¹ Renunciations in exchange for cash were to be a feature of preparations for the First Crusade. The sole case known before 1095 and the small number of surviving pledge-charters suggest that, unlike a crusade, a peaceful pilgrimage to Jerusalem was just within the financial capabilities of most land-owners.

On the other hand, as a penitential exercise pilgrimage to Jerusalem was likely to be severe, even dangerous, and pilgrims were anyway concerned to make sure that it would be spiritually profitable. Their state of mind on departure, and the way monks resorted to age-old techniques to exploit it, are illustrated by events at the start of the fourth pilgrimage of Fulk of Anjou in the late 1030s. Accompanied by his wife, who was going with him, and the bishop of Angers, he spent the first night of the journey at the abbey of St Maur-sur-Loire. His party was honourably received and given a

⁹⁶ Carcassonne 1.80; Vigeois 4; Cluny 4.123–4; St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 90–1. One also included a sale. Carcassonne 1.80.

⁹⁷ Vigeois 4; St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 90–1.

⁹⁸ St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 90; J. Richard, 'Départs de pèlerins et de croisés bourguignons au XIe s.: à propos d'une charte de Cluny', *Annales de Bourgogne* 60 (1988), 139–43. For this clause in crusaders' charters, see Cluny 5.52; St Pierre de la Réole 141; St Jean d'Angély 30.384; Göttweig 194; perhaps St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 26.

⁹⁹ By Guy I of Laval: Le Mans Cart 1.2–3; Le Mans Liber 24; by William Seguin: St Vincent de Lucq 19; by Peter of Vic: Auch 8–10; and by Gerald of Vouhé: St Jean d'Angély 30.231.

¹⁰⁰ St Vincent de Lucq 19.

¹⁰¹ See Le Mans Cart 1.2; Le Mans Liber 24.

magnificent meal, during which one of the monks read from the Life of St Maur. After the meal the bishop entertained the company with stories about the saint and so fired Fulk that he was persuaded then and there to finance the rebuilding of the abbey church.¹⁰² Endowments to churches or wills in favour of them before leaving¹⁰³ and on return¹⁰⁴ were common, and these sometimes made reference to a desire for prayers. In the decade or so before 1095 William Fredelann of Blaye and Helias of Didonne and his family were received into the societies of prayer of the abbeys of La Sauve-Majeure and Maillezais respectively.¹⁰⁵ In c.1090 Peter of Vic put one of his sons into the chapter of Auch as an oblate and provided a substantial entry gift; this was a common way of ensuring that one benefited from a community's prayers.¹⁰⁶ At about the same time Pons of Cuiseaux was promised an obit by the monks of St Philibert de Tournus.¹⁰⁷ Pilgrimage could lead directly to interior conversion. In the 1030s or 1040s Bernard of Merzé had on his return begun 'to think about the salvation of my soul'¹⁰⁸ and in the late 1090s the Norman knight Odard, who seems to have come back from his pilgrimage after the First Crusade had been launched, entered the abbey of Jumièges.¹⁰⁹ Two endowments and one will were made while the pilgrims concerned were actually in Jerusalem. In 1053 Odilus of Morlhon founded and endowed the priory of Villeneuve d'Aveyron¹¹⁰ and in c.1090 Garderade Barbotin the Old of Pons gave land to the priory of St Martin de Pons in gratitude for having reached his goal; he wrote that he intended to stay there for a while.¹¹¹ A year or two

¹⁰² St Maur-sur-Loire 356. Fulk's widow, Hildegard, was to go again in 1046, with the intention of dying in Jerusalem. Le Ronceray d'Angers 10, 27, 40, 46.

¹⁰³ Endowment: Aureil 36; St Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin 110; St Maur-sur-Loire 356; Le Ronceray d'Angers 10, 27; St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.287; Tulle 60, 83, 97, 255; Oulx 41; La Savue-Majeure fol. 253 (information provided by Dr Bull); Beaujeu 13–14, 17; La Charité-sur-Loire 96–7; Leire 210; Maillezais 236–7; Noyon 155; Normandy 231; *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* 1.297; St Philibert de Tournus (Chifflet), Preuves, 329–30; and see Uzerche 338. Wills: Carcassonne 1.80; Le Ronceray d'Angers 56; Tulle 46–7, 82; Beaujeu 17; La Charité-sur-Loire 96–7; Auch 10; Leire 210; Conques 166, 236; and see also Auch 44.

¹⁰⁴ Endowments: St Julien de Tours 15–16; Cluny 4.64–5, 123–4; *Gallia Christiana* 2, Instrumenta, 105; Jumièges 1.122–3; 'Un pèlerinage à Jérusalem' 205–6.

¹⁰⁵ La Sauve-Majeure fol. 253 (information provided by Dr Bull); Maillezais 237.

¹⁰⁶ Auch 9–10.

¹⁰⁷ St Philibert de Tournus (Chifflet), Preuves, 329–30. On coming home in 1025 Walter of Tours wanted the monks of St Loup to pray not only for himself and his family but also for the Church in general. St Julien de Tours 15–16.

¹⁰⁸ Cluny 4.64.

¹⁰⁹ Jumièges 1.122.

¹¹⁰ Villeneuve d'Aveyron 538–9.

¹¹¹ St Florent-lès-Saumur (Saintongeaises) 22, 41.

later Boso I of Turenne willed two *mansi* to the abbey of Tulle as he lay dying in the holy city.¹¹²

If in c.1015 the party led by Ralph of Tosny, which travelled through Rome to southern Italy and began the Norman conquest of the region, really were pilgrims to Jerusalem, they were presumably intending to cross the Adriatic from Bari and take the old imperial road, the via Egnatia, to Constantinople.¹¹³ This route was popular throughout the eleventh century, but the conversion of Hungary had made the land passage through central Europe much more secure; it was pointed out that pilgrims no longer had to go by sea.¹¹⁴ In 1026 William IV of Angoulême 'took the Bavarian road', travelling by way of Bavaria and Hungary to Constantinople,¹¹⁵ where he must have met up with Richard of St Vanne, who had made his way by a third route: through Dalmatia and along the via Egnatia.¹¹⁶ In 1057 Thierry of Mathonville, abbot of St Evroul, and his party¹¹⁷ and in the following year Lampert of Hersfeld¹¹⁸ and Bishop Aldred of Worcester¹¹⁹ went the same way as had William of Angoulême; so did Gunther of Bamberg in 1064.¹²⁰ In 1054 Lietbert of Cambrai and his companions travelled through Dalmatia.¹²¹ These three roads to Constantinople — down Italy to Bari and across to Greece; by way of Hungary and Bulgaria; and through Dalmatia — were to be used by the armies of the First Crusade. From Constantinople everyone seems to have taken the old imperial highway to the East: Fulk of Anjou and Robert of Normandy set off together along it in 1035.¹²² It ran to Antioch, from where the pilgrims travelled south down the Syrian and Palestinian coasts, but that final stretch — by way of Latakia, Tripoli, Caesarea and Ramle to Jerusalem¹²³ — was considered to be a dangerous one and in 1057 Norman pilgrims, who had reached Antioch, debated whether to avoid it by taking a ship.¹²⁴ After all the troubles which will be described below, Gunther of Bamberg took a merchant ship from Jaffa back to Latakia.¹²⁵ Richard of St Vanne returned to Antioch by land and then travelled

¹¹² Tulle 266. His wife Gerberga was professed on her deathbed as a nun attached to Tulle. Tulle 271.

¹¹³ CSPVS 112.

¹¹⁴ Ralph Glaber 96.

¹¹⁵ Adhémar of Chabannes 189–90.

¹¹⁶ Hugh of Flavigny 393–4.

¹¹⁷ OV 2.68.

¹¹⁸ Lampert of Hersfeld 74.

¹¹⁹ Florence of Worcester 1.217.

¹²⁰ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 66–7.

¹²¹ *Acta SS Junii* 4.597.

¹²² CGCA 50.

¹²³ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 67–70; Lampert of Hersfeld 94–8.

¹²⁴ OV 2.70. In c.1040 Mainfred of Magdeburg and his companions were delayed from sailing by contrary winds at Latakia. Ekkebert 606.

¹²⁵ See *Annales Altahenses maiores* 70; Lampert of Hersfeld 98–9; Marianus Scottus 559.

by way of Belgrade to the Dalmatian coast, from where he crossed the Adriatic to visit Rome.¹²⁶

The journey to the Holy Land could be made surprisingly quickly. In 1026 William Taillefer left Angoulême on 1 October and reached Jerusalem just over five months later, in the first week of the following March.¹²⁷ Lampert of Hersfeld departed from Aschaffenburg in late September 1058 and was back almost a year later.¹²⁸ Gunther of Bamberg left Jerusalem for home on 25 April 1065 and had reached Hungary by the time of his death on 23 July.¹²⁹ But there were aggravations and worse. The Greeks, whose exactions caused regular complaints — they had probably begun the practice, which was to be so familiar to crusaders, of freeing or shutting their markets as a method of control¹³⁰ — closed the route through the Byzantine empire for three years after 1017 as a protest about the Norman assistance to the rebellion against them in southern Italy.¹³¹ In 1064 Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, who was very young, ran into trouble in Constantinople, because he was suspected by Greek officials of being the western emperor-elect in disguise!¹³² He was warned in Latakia that there were Muslim bandits ahead and his large party was ambushed near Caesarea and severely mauled; it was reported later that two-thirds of his following did not return to the West.¹³³ In 1022 Gerald of Thourars, the abbot of St Florent-lès-Saumur, was taken prisoner and, it was believed, martyred by Muslims before he reached Jerusalem.¹³⁴ Four years later Richard of St Vanne was stoned when he said Mass openly in Islamic territory.¹³⁵ In 1053 Abbot Thierry of St Hubert-en-Ardenne, who had planned to travel by way of Hungary, was turned back because of the 'incursions of barbarians' — presumably Pechenegs — ahead. He changed course with great difficulty, redirecting his journey through Italy with the intention of crossing the Adriatic, although he got no further than Rome.¹³⁶

¹²⁶ Hugh of Flavigny 397; Eberwin 209–10. Bishop Raimbert of Verdun died at Belgrade on his pilgrimage in 1038. Hugh of Flavigny 402.

¹²⁷ Adhémar of Chabannes 189–90.

¹²⁸ Lampert of Hersfeld 74–5.

¹²⁹ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 70; Lampert of Hersfeld 99.

¹³⁰ William of Jumièges 113 (an interpolation). See J. Sumption *Pilgrimage* (London, 1975), 183–4.

¹³¹ Adhémar of Chabannes 178.

¹³² *Annales Altahenses maiores* 67.

¹³³ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 67–70; Lambert of Hersfeld 94–8; Marianus Scottus 559; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', 361.

¹³⁴ St Florent-lès-Saumur Hist 267–8.

¹³⁵ Hugh of Flavigny 396–7.

¹³⁶ 'Vita Theoderici' 44–5.

Visits to Jerusalem itself could be irritating, as when the doorkeepers to the Sepulchre compound made difficulties,¹³⁷ and also dangerous: an English hermit, who was persuaded by his bishop not to make the pilgrimage, had envisaged his death at the hands of the Muslims.¹³⁸ The atmosphere in the city seems to have been tense in 1027. Stones were thrown by Muslims into the Sepulchre compound during Holy Week and the pilgrims were worried by the number of armed men in the streets at the time of the miracle of the Holy Fire.¹³⁹ In c.1040 Ulrich of Breisgau, whose pilgrimage was eccentric — he took with him one servant and one horse, which he never rode until he had recited the whole psalter — was stoned by a hostile crowd near the river Jordan.¹⁴⁰ In 1055 the authorities expelled the Christians from the Sepulchre compound and closed the pilgrim roads: Lietbert of Cambrai and his companions were held up for three months at Latakia and for a further two in Cyprus; they never reached their destination.¹⁴¹ After 1071 conditions must have deteriorated as Asia Minor was swept by marauding Turks and Palestine was disputed by Seljuks and Fatimids. Perhaps more people were travelling by sea again.

William Taillefer of Angoulême spent nearly four months in Jerusalem, from the first week of March to the third week of June 1027.¹⁴² This length of stay, covering the feasts of Easter¹⁴³ and Pentecost, must have been common, although Gunther of Bamberg, delayed by the assault on his party, missed Easter in Jerusalem and spent only thirteen days there.¹⁴⁴ On his return home William Taillefer was received in splendour by the abbeys of St Martial de Limoges and St Cybard d'Angoulême.

When the rumour of his approach reached Angoulême, all the magnates, not only from Angoulême but also from Périgord and the Saintonge, and of every age and sex, rushed joyfully to meet him, wanting to see him. The monastic clergy of St Cybard, in white vestments and ecclesiastical panoply, processed rejoicing with a large crowd of people to meet him a mile outside the city, singing praises and antiphons. And they led him in, singing the *Te Deum* loudly, as is customary.¹⁴⁵

In the accounts of eleventh-century pilgrimages one can see traditions already well established in the arrangements for the manage-

¹³⁷ CGCA 50–1.

¹³⁸ WMGP 286.

¹³⁹ Hugh of Flavigny 394–7.

¹⁴⁰ 'Vita sancti Udalrici prioris Cellensis' 252, 255–6.

¹⁴¹ *Acta SS Junii* 4.597–9.

¹⁴² Adhémar of Chabannes 190. See Hugh of Flavigny 395–6.

¹⁴³ See Hugh of Flavigny 395–6; Ralph Glaber 202.

¹⁴⁴ *Annales Altahenses maiores* 70.

¹⁴⁵ Adhémar of Chabannes 190.

ment of estates, pledges, renunciations, wills and endowments on departure, requests for prayer, the routes taken and ceremonial home-comings. In many ways the armsbearing classes to which the nobles and knights who were to take the cross belonged had got thoroughly used to the patterns of behaviour so many of them had experienced in the seventy years before the First Crusade, which was, after all, much the largest of the mass pilgrimages of the eleventh century. It differed from the others, however, in one important respect. It was at the same time a war. Rich magnates had sometimes pilgrimaged in splendour and with panache. Robert of Normandy had travelled in great magnificence, scattering alms as he went, and there was a later tradition in Normandy that, approaching Constantinople, he had had his mule shod with gold so that the Greeks should not think him mean — apparently the Franks had a reputation for avariciousness among them — although it is noteworthy that he was thought to have been riding a mule rather than a horse.¹⁴⁶ But the intentions of eleventh-century pilgrims from the armsbearing classes were generally pacific. Pilgrims performing enjoined penances were certainly forbidden to carry weapons, although Pope Gregory VII was to exempt those who took up arms 'in the preservation of their rights, or those of their lord, their friend [relation], or the poor or in defence of the churches' from the rule that no one in serious sin should fight,¹⁴⁷ which must have been a precedent for crusaders. It is not clear whether the same ban applied to all of those engaged in *peregrinationes religiosae* — they were also penitents, of course, if of a less formal kind — but when in 1064 Bishop Gunther of Bamberg brought trouble from Palestinian robbers on himself by the ostentatious richness of his train and his followers were attacked they agonized whether they could resist their assailants at all, although in the end some fought back with whatever they could get their hands on.¹⁴⁸ The crusaders, on the other hand, intended war to be an integral part of their penitential exercise. A new and revolutionary element had entered the tradition of journeying to the Holy Land and a major question is why.

¹⁴⁶ William of Jumièges 112–13. See E.-R. Labande, 'Recherches sur les pèlerins dans l'Europe des XIe–XIIe siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 1 (1958), 339.

¹⁴⁷ Greg Reg 471–2.

¹⁴⁸ Lampert of Hersfeld 94–8; *Annales Altahenses maiores* 68–70; Marianus Scottus 559.

Pious Violence

For a time in the late 1020s Alan Caignart, the count of Cornouaille in Brittany, was gravely ill. In his delirium he believed he saw a golden cross falling from heaven into his mouth and so convinced did he become that his recovery was associated with this vision that he sent his wife and his brother, the local bishop, to Rome to ask Pope John XIX for advice. John suggested that he build a monastery in honour of the cross and on 14 September 1029, the feast commemorating the discovery of the True Cross in Jerusalem, Alan founded the abbey of Ste Croix de Quimperlé.¹⁴⁹ In the following year, before he threw back an invasion of Cornouaille by Alan III of Brittany in the Battle of Gueth-Ronan, Alan Caignart 'invoked the strength of the glorious cross of the Lord and begged for the aid of St. Ronan'. Then he fought, 'protected by the sign of the healing cross'.¹⁵⁰ He looks like a precocious crusader, but he was only expressing the conventional belief that the religious symbol or saint to which an individual was particularly devoted could protect him in a difficult or dangerous situation. The common association of violence with a shrine to which the perpetrator was strongly attached was theatrically demonstrated in Gascony by Arnald Sancho, who had granted property to the monks of Sorde so that 'God might give him the traitor', a man called William Malfara who had killed his brother. Arnald overpowered William, mutilated his body, and castrated him — 'In this way his prestige, his capacity to fight, and his dynastic prospects were all irreparably damaged' — before solemnly presenting his blood-stained armour to the abbey.¹⁵¹

Apprehension when faced by the prospect of engagement in violence has always triggered acts of piety, as a group of charters recording dispositions made by men sailing in 1066 with Duke William of Normandy to conquer England illustrate. Before embarkation Roger II of Montgomery renounced in the duke's presence claims on property he had been making against the community of Ste Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen and Roger son of Turolde endowed the monks there 'for the health of his soul'.¹⁵² During the crossing there was some rough weather and Osmund of Boudeville, falling ill and presumably fearful of death, gave the

¹⁴⁹ Ste Croix de Quimperlé 36, 93–4; Brittany (ducs) 22–7.

¹⁵⁰ Ste Croix de Quimperlé 101.

¹⁵¹ Bull, 'Origins', 15; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 159.

¹⁵² Ste Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen 442, 453–4.

monks tithes.¹⁵³ But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries violence perpetrated under the patronage of saints, even, in the collections of miracle stories, engaged in by the saints themselves, was a feature of a culture in which self-help predominated because arbitration was so often ineffective. The endemic insecurity must have contributed to the flourishing of extended families. There has been argument about how extended families actually were, but the early crusading movement provides evidence for the importance to people of even quite distant ties of kinship. Family relationships loomed large, because they provided men and women with 'natural friends' in times of insecurity and perhaps also because the church was trying to enforce marriage-rules of consanguinity which had very wide definitions and involved the acknowledgement of even remote cousins.¹⁵⁴ Many of the noble kindreds which were to play significant parts in early crusading have the appearance of being relatively recently established. This is another difficult subject, given the fact that we now know that many of the 'new men' of the tenth and eleventh centuries were not new at all and that some of the castellan families which rose to prominence in the seventy years before the First Crusade were descended from junior branches of older noble lines, but the fact remains that many of them had only risen through the use of naked force.

Extended families carving places for themselves in an unstable society created the ideal conditions for vendettas and in an age dominated by them it was natural for the blood feud to enter religion as an expression of caring. In the popular poem *La Venjance Nostre Seigneur*, Christ was portrayed prophesying that his crucifixion would be avenged by the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. This was adapted to the events of July 1099 in the greatest of the crusade epics, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, which opens with a scene of Christ on the cross assuring the thieves on either side of him that he will be avenged by the crusaders.¹⁵⁵ As soon as the crusade was preached the blood-feud surfaced in the pogroms against the Jews, in which the crusaders' motives appear to have stemmed less from avarice than from a conviction that they were engaged in a vendetta against those who had disparaged the honour of Christ, their father and lord. They

¹⁵³ Ste Trinité-du-Mont de Rouen 451–2; and see 446, 450–1.

¹⁵⁴ C. B. Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Speculum* 56 (1981), 268–87.

¹⁵⁵ Ch d'A 1.25–8.

found it impossible to distinguish the Jews, who by demanding his crucifixion in AD 33 had broken his body, from the Muslims who had stolen his patrimony in 638 when they had entered Jerusalem.¹⁵⁶ However abhorrent it is to us, violence — even ethnic violence — was not an antithesis of piety, but could be an expression of it.

It was, in fact, perfectly possible for members of these families, whether risen or well-established, to be both rough and pious, as the case of Fulk III of Anjou has already demonstrated. Other examples are to be found in successive generations of the families of Montlhéry and Le Puiset in the Ile-de-France, the second of which was to be lashed by the pen of Abbot Suger of St Denis for its savagery,¹⁵⁷ and of Lusignan in Poitou. The future crusader Hugh VI of Lusignan was devout, but he was in more or less continuous conflict with the abbey of St Maixent, his lord for some of his lands: the abbey's chronicler referred to him as 'the Devil'.¹⁵⁸ His dispute with the monks must have begun almost as soon as he had succeeded his father in 1060 and it reached a climax towards the end of his life — he was to die in 1110 — occasioning interventions from the duke of Aquitaine, the bishops of Poitiers and Saintes, and the pope himself.¹⁵⁹ One of Hugh's legacies may have been a savage little war between his son and the duke of Aquitaine which broke out on his death.¹⁶⁰

Churchmen condemned the use of force to secure material ends, but they tolerated, even encouraged, certain expressions of pious violence, partly because they had been bred in the same world as laymen and took them for granted, and partly because most of them were convinced that the use of force was justifiable when the fighter was performing a service to God such as assuring peace or protecting the Church. Although there were differences of emphasis among the eleventh-century theorists and a concern about the state of soldiers' souls after battle — sometimes, but not always, leading to advice to combatants to do penance — there was general agreement that provided it fulfilled certain criteria warfare could be a positive activity and could be waged on God's direct authority. The eleventh-century wars in Sicily and in Spain, where the frontier with the

¹⁵⁶ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade* 52–7.

¹⁵⁷ Suger of St Denis, *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis*, 128–30.

¹⁵⁸ St Maixent Chron 134.

¹⁵⁹ St Maixent Chartes 16.155–6, 240–3, 256–61; 18.482.

¹⁶⁰ St Maixent Chartes 16.266, 273, 276. Cf. S. Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 38.

Moors was still dangerously close to the Pyrenees, are not treated nowadays as 'precrusades'¹⁶¹ and the exigencies of life on the Iberian frontier might have made those who engaged in them behave inconsistently at times, but it is undeniable that contemporaries believed that the Christian warriors had God's support. And although the knights who streamed across the mountains from the north usually came either to help out relations or to take part in what were little more than looting expeditions, at least one campaign seems to have had a deeper significance for them.

On 23 October 1086 the army of King Alfonso VI of Leon-Castile, who had caused a sensation the year before by occupying Toledo, was destroyed in the battle of Sagrajas by the North African Almoravids, in alliance with the Muslim *taifa* kings who had invited them into the peninsula. Alfonso, although severely wounded, escaped, but carts filled with the heads of the Christian dead trundled round Spain and North Africa to demonstrate to the Muslim faithful that the Christians need not be feared. Although the Spanish casualties may not have been as numerous as is sometimes supposed, shock-waves spread north to Poitou¹⁶² and beyond. King Philip of France called on his subjects to lend support and French contingents marched into Spain in 1087, although they were diverted to the siege of Tudela in the Ebro valley and eventually withdrew with little accomplished.¹⁶³ A number of those who were to be prominent in the First Crusade six years later were involved, including Hugh of Lusignan,¹⁶⁴ William the Carpenter of Melun,¹⁶⁵ Duke Eudes I of Burgundy¹⁶⁶ and possibly Raymond of St Gilles.¹⁶⁷ A charter, issued in Leon and recording an admission by Eudes that he had unjustly withheld property belonging to the abbey of St Philibert de Tournus, allows us to see into the minds of the French contingent. St Philibert had been patronized by Constance of Burgundy, Eudes's exceptionally pious aunt, who was married to

¹⁶¹ For Spain see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 70–114; R. A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c.1050–1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, 37 (1987), 31–47.

¹⁶² Nouaillé 252.

¹⁶³ St Maixent Chron 148; CSPVS 136; 'Chronicon Trenorciense' 112–13; 'Historiae Francicae Fragmentum' 2; Nouaillé 249–52; B. F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla under King Alfonso VI 1065–1109* (Princeton, 1988), 180–94.

¹⁶⁴ Nouaillé 249–50.

¹⁶⁵ St Maixent Chron 148. For the later references to William's cowardice during the First Crusade, see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 84–5.

¹⁶⁶ 'Chronicon Trenorciense' 113; St Philibert de Tournus (Juënin) 134–5.

¹⁶⁷ J. H. and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles* (Toulouse, 1959), 20–1.

Alfonso of Leon-Castile.¹⁶⁸ Eudes, who had come to Leon after the siege of Tudela, probably to arrange the marriage of his cousin Raymond of Burgundy to Alfonso's sister Urraca, had to give way to pressure from Constance and withdraw his refusal to recognize a gift she had made to St Philibert several years before. His recantation was witnessed by his brother, Bishop Robert of Langres, and by other Burgundians, including Savary of Vergy who was later to help finance the crusade of his nephew Geoffrey II of Donzy. Eudes demonstrated his conviction that he had come to Spain in obedience to a divine mandate when he stated that he had answered Alfonso's summons 'with that great army in which nearly all the nobles of the kingdom of France came to Spain at the orders of God'.¹⁶⁹

Senior churchmen felt increasingly in need of the support righteous violence could give them as a radical programme of reform embarked on by the papacy encountered resistance and in a febrile atmosphere bred disorder and civil war in Germany and northern Italy. They encouraged the development of a movement in support of the papal policies, which expressed itself in commitment to service to St Peter, providing an example of the way the religious instincts of nobles and knights and their family relationships manifested themselves in pious violence. Pope Alexander II seems to have begun the practice of persuading some armsbearers to take oaths to help defend the papacy¹⁷⁰ and by 1080 a disparate assortment of individuals, ranging from great magnates to knights, had been recruited. They did not all make the same commitment: some took solemn vows; some recognized themselves as papal vassals; some expressed their support informally. Some undertook to apply the reforms in their territories; others did not. Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) referred to them in various ways, but most commonly as *fideles beati Petri*.¹⁷¹

Many *fideles* were closely associated through the way they tended to choose, or to have chosen, each other's families when it came to marriage: it is not clear whether shared partisanship led to marriage alliances or whether existing alliances encouraged the sharing of commitment, although there was probably a bit of both. The *fidelis* William Tête-Hardi of (imperial) Burgundy's daughters were

¹⁶⁸ See C. B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister* (Ithaca, 1987), 143–5.

¹⁶⁹ St Philibert de Tournus (Juënin) 134–5; reflected in the description of the army as 'gens dominica' in GN Gesta 175. See also 'Chronicon Trenorciense' 112–13.

¹⁷⁰ See Greg Reg 35–6, 70–1.

¹⁷¹ Erdmann, *The Origin*, 206–8; I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest* (Manchester, 1978), 20.

married to Humbert II of Savoy, Robert II of Flanders, Thierry II of Montbéliard, and Eudes I of (French) Burgundy, all being from the families of *fideles* or at least supporters of Pope Gregory.¹⁷² Robert of Flanders's sister was married to Welf IV of Bavaria, another *fidelis*. The *fidelis* Ebles of Roucy was married to the *fidelis* Robert Guiscard's daughter.

A network of supporters of reform can be identified in Languedoc, where it included Raymond of St Gilles, his brother-in-law Peter II of Melgueil, William IX of Aquitaine who was married to Raymond's niece, Bernard II of Besalù, Gaston IV of Béarn, Centule II of Bigorre and Bertrand of Provence.¹⁷³ Also associated with this circle was Hugh of Lusignan, although he was geographically isolated from most of the other members since he lived far to the north. When, towards the end of his life, Hugh was engaged, as usual, in conflict with the abbey of St Maixent, he was threatened with excommunication by Pope Paschal II. The pope opened his letter, which must have been written in 1110 or shortly before, by stating that 'We love Hugh of Lusignan especially, because we know him to be a *fidelis beati Petri*.'¹⁷⁴ The title of *fidelis* was not, as used to be thought, abandoned with the preaching of the First Crusade, because William VI of Montpellier was addressed as a *beati Petri miles* as late as 1132,¹⁷⁵ but it is likely that Hugh, who was very old by 1110, had been recognized as a *fidelis* by Pope Gregory VII.

How had he come to be involved? The answer may lie partly with his mother, Almodis of La Marche, who was married in turn to Hugh V of Lusignan, known as 'the Pious', Pons of Toulouse and Raymond Berengar I of Barcelona.¹⁷⁶ She bore Hugh V of Lusignan two sons, of whom Hugh VI was the elder, Pons of Toulouse three sons, of whom Raymond of St Gilles was the second, and a daughter, and Raymond Berengar of Barcelona two sons.¹⁷⁷ A century later she had a reputation for having been a bolter,¹⁷⁸ but in fact it may have been that her husbands found it hard to cope with her personality, which was probably overbearing. She encouraged Raymond Berengar to challenge his grandmother's possession of his

¹⁷² J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions and Participation in the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), 102–3.

¹⁷³ Erdmann, *The Origin*, 221–2, 224.

¹⁷⁴ St Maixent Chartes 16.260.

¹⁷⁵ Montpellier 1.37.

¹⁷⁶ St Maixent Chron 132.

¹⁷⁷ St Maixent Chron 132; HGL 3.338, 387–9.

¹⁷⁸ WMGR 2.455–6.

county and was excommunicated by Pope Victor II for this.¹⁷⁹ She was eventually murdered by one of her step-sons.¹⁸⁰

Hugh V of Lusignan repudiated her on the grounds of consanguinity in the late 1030s. He then seems to have arranged her marriage to Pons of Toulouse¹⁸¹ and some kind of lasting relationship between the families resulted: it has been suggested that Hugh's revolt against William VIII of Aquitaine in 1060, in which he lost his life, was in support of his ex-wife's son William IV of Toulouse.¹⁸² For her part Almodis did not lose touch with the children of her previous marriages: in 1066–7 she travelled to Toulouse to be present at the wedding of her daughter.¹⁸³ Hugh VI of Lusignan's part in the military expedition to Spain in 1087 may have been motivated by knowledge of the danger his Catalan half-brothers were facing in the aftermath of Sagradas.¹⁸⁴ His relationship to his half-brother Raymond of St Gilles was well-known at the time of the First Crusade.¹⁸⁵

At any rate Almodis had moved into a network of Occitan families within which the *fideles* were going to be prominent and a feature of her offspring from three husbands is how many of them were committed supporters both of papal reform and the crusade. Hugh of Lusignan and Raymond of St Gilles were *fideles*, and Hugh, Raymond and probably their half-brother Berengar Raymond II of Barcelona took the cross for the First Crusade, as did the husbands of their nieces Philippa of Toulouse and Ermessens of Melgueil.

The interests and intellectual capacity of the *fideles* must have varied widely, but they had what would nowadays be called a think-tank, comprising a brilliant group of scholars — Anselm of Lucca, John of Mantua and Bonizo of Sutri — gathered round the *fidelis* Mathilda of Tuscany, one of the most committed and influential supporters of radical reform,¹⁸⁶ who put an army at the papacy's disposal and attracted such epithets as 'catholic knight'¹⁸⁷ and 'most wise general and most faithful knight of St Peter'.¹⁸⁸ Ideas, perhaps

¹⁷⁹ HGL 3.328.

¹⁸⁰ *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* 7, 32–3; B. F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain 1031–1159* (Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford, 1992), 119.

¹⁸¹ St Maixent Chron 132.

¹⁸² Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan', 33.

¹⁸³ HGL 3.351.

¹⁸⁴ See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 87–8.

¹⁸⁵ FC 438.

¹⁸⁶ See Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, 100–3.

¹⁸⁷ John of Mantua, 'Tractatus in Cantica Canticorum', 65; and see also 38, 51–2.

¹⁸⁸ Bernold of St Blasien 443.

in simplified forms, must have been seeping down through a network of relationships from the intellectuals to the rest. It is probable, for example, that the Fulcher of Chartres referred to as 'our *fidelis*' in a letter from Pope Gregory VII in September 1074 was Fulcher fitz-Gerard, a canon of Notre-Dame de Chartres and himself the father of sons who were to be leading first crusaders.¹⁸⁹ His eldest son was married to the heiress of the family of the vidames of Chartres and he was therefore probably related by marriage to the Le Puisets, the viscounts of the city. In 1073 Everard II of Breteuil, the head of the Le Puiset family, underwent a particularly intense conversion. He disposed of all his property, giving most of his lands to his kin and his gold and silver to the poor, and went abroad on pilgrimage 'naked and poor', before entering the abbey of Marmoutier.¹⁹⁰ His brothers Hugh I, who succeeded him as viscount and established a priory of Marmoutier at Le Puiset, and Waleran I of Breteuil followed up this dramatic event with gifts to the abbey. In his charter Waleran referred to himself as 'devoted to the lay rôle of Christian knighthood by the grace of faith', a phrase which strikes one as being in line with the ideas of advanced reformers on Christian knights. We do not know why it came to be included in Waleran's charter, but it cannot have been written without his permission and it may be that reform ideas were reaching him through Fulcher.¹⁹¹

One subject engaging the attention of the Mathildine scholars, not surprisingly, was the theory of holy war. They concentrated on reviving, anthologizing and developing the ideas of St Augustine of Hippo (354–430), the most authoritative theoretician of Christian violence, who in a long career had evolved an intellectually satisfying theory of positive force and a justification for serving God in arms.¹⁹² They elaborated Augustine's thesis in two ways. First, the Church, and particularly the papacy, was for them an authority which could legitimately summon knights to fight in its defence. John of Mantua maintained, basing his argument on the incident in the Garden of Gethsemane when St Peter had drawn a sword and had cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, that although as a priest Peter had

¹⁸⁹ Greg Reg 133. Fulcher's sons were Bartholomew Boel and Fulcher of Chartres.

¹⁹⁰ Marmoutier (Dunois) 38–40.

¹⁹¹ Marmoutier (Dunois) 36.

¹⁹² For Anselm of Lucca's *Collectio canonum* (1081–3), see J. Flori, *L'Essor de la Chevalerie XIe–XIIe siècles* (Geneva, 1986), 182–4. See also John of Mantua *passim*; Bonizo of Sutri, 'Liber ad amicum', *passim*.

not been permitted to wield the sword himself, he and his successors the popes had authority over it, since Christ had told him to put it back into its scabbard rather than throw it away.¹⁹³ Secondly, Bonizo of Sutri took up the idea of martyrdom in battle, which had been expounded by the papacy at times from the ninth century, when two popes had averred that soldiers who died in the right frame of mind in combat against infidels or pagans would gain eternal life. One of them had reinforced this by promising absolution to the dead,¹⁹⁴ a precedent which seems to have persuaded the great canonist Ivo of Chartres, when composing his canon law collections shortly before the First Crusade, that death in engagements against the enemies of the faith could be rewarded.¹⁹⁵ Meanwhile, the title of martyr had been extended by Pope Leo IX to those who fell simply in defence of justice, when he referred to the 'martyrdom' of those who had fallen in the defeat of his forces by the Normans in the battle of Civitate in 1053.¹⁹⁶

The Mathildine scholars do not seem to have attached merit to the act of war itself, as opposed to death in it. With respect to knights who survived, there is no evidence that they had gone more than a few steps beyond St Augustine, who had had little sense of merit and had simply maintained that soldiers engaged in a holy war would incur no blame, since they were only doing their duty.¹⁹⁷ Striking as the arguments in their writings were, therefore, they had not provided more than part of the theoretical foundations crusading was going to need. A crusade was to be much more than the service to God in arms envisaged by them, because it was going to be preached as a penance and this, as the conservative opponent of reform Sigebert of Gembloux pointed out, was a departure from previous Christian teaching on violence.¹⁹⁸ It is no exaggeration to say that the idea of penitential warfare was to be a revolutionary one, because it put the act of fighting on the same meritorious plane as prayer,

¹⁹³ John of Mantua 52. See I. S. Robinson, 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58 (1973), 185–6.

¹⁹⁴ *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 3.601; 5.126–7. See J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, 1969), 22–3.

¹⁹⁵ See also Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, Quodl.2, q.8, a.2; Quodl.5, q.7, a.2 (pp. 36–8, 106).

¹⁹⁶ Bruno of Segni, 'Vita S. Leonis', 1117–18. See Anonymus Haserensis, 'De Episcopis Eichstetensibus', 265; 'Historia mortis et miraculorum S. Leonis IX' 527; also Wibert, 'Vita S. Leonis', 500.

¹⁹⁷ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 187.

¹⁹⁸ Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Leodicensium epistola adversus Paschalem Papam', 464.

works of mercy and fasting, presumably ranking it in merit above many attitudes and actions — generosity, kindness, long-suffering and so forth — which would hardly have been considered satisfactorily penitential by contemporaries. But if the Mathildine scholars were relatively conservative on paper, it is fairly clear that the concept of penitential war did eventually emerge out of a dialogue between them and Pope Gregory and that one of them, Anselm of Lucca, was quick to seize on it once it had been presented to him.

Penitential warfare requires the premise that fighting itself can be meritorious, whatever the fate of the fighter. Even into the twelfth century a spectrum of opinions on this issue ranged from doubts whether sin could be avoided in any act of war to the conviction that altruistic violence could be virtuous.¹⁹⁹ Pope Leo IX had promised absolution of their sins to those rulers who would assist him militarily²⁰⁰ and before the battle of Civitate he had come before 'all his knights to absolve them of their sins',²⁰¹ but these seem to have been in the nature of general absolutions, assurances to soldiers that they would be entering battle, and perhaps meeting their maker, in as good a state as possible; they involved no judgement on the merit or otherwise of the act of violence in which the men were to be engaged. And although in the preliminaries to Civitate the pope apparently took a more radical step when he 'remitted the penance they [his knights] ought to have performed for their sins',²⁰² it is clear from one account that this remission was not considered by him to be a consequence of taking part in battle, as the crusade remission would be;²⁰³ perhaps he saw it as some kind of dispensation.

It used to be thought that the first evidence of new ideas in papal circles was an indulgence granted by Alexander II in 1063–4 to Christian soldiers going to besiege the Muslim stronghold of Barbastro in Spain. It has recently been shown, however, that there is no reason to suppose that the pope's letter was addressed to fighters at all — it was probably written for pilgrims²⁰⁴ — and one can conclude that Gregory VII was the first to state categorically that taking part in war of a certain kind could be an act of charity to which merit was attached and to assert in the end that such an action

¹⁹⁹ J. Gilchrist, 'The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083–1141', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 37–45.

²⁰⁰ Aimé of Monte Cassino, *Storia de'Normanni*, 138–9.

²⁰¹ Aimé of Monte Cassino 154.

²⁰² Aimé of Monte Cassino 154.

²⁰³ 'Vita et Obitus S. Leonis Noni Pape' 320.

²⁰⁴ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 73–8.

could indeed be penitential; this is certainly what Sigebert of Gembloux thought when he wrote that the idea had been Gregory's own.²⁰⁵

Gregory's advice to warriors was generally couched in conventionally pastoral terms,²⁰⁶ but early in his pontificate he came up with a scheme to lend military assistance to the Byzantine empire. As the plan evolved it became more and more heady. He hoped to lead himself an army of 50,000 men, which after helping the Greeks against the Turks would march on to the Holy Sepulchre. Several of his leading supporters became involved: the Empress Agnes and her brother William VIII of Aquitaine, Mathilda of Tuscany and her mother Beatrice, Amadeus II of Savoy, Raymond of St Gilles, Richard I of Capua, Sancho IV Ramirez of Aragon and William Tête-Hardi of Burgundy. Gregory portrayed his expedition as one in defence of the Christian faith and on behalf of the heavenly king; if it was a beautiful thing to die for one's country, it was still better to die for Christ. He stressed, in terms which created the necessary conditions for meritorious violence and were to be used constantly by crusade apologists, that aid to the Christians in the East — which he compared to laying down one's life for one's brother — was an expression of compassion and love of neighbour. It followed from this, of course, that to take part in the campaign would be an act of merit which would be recompensed, whether one died or not: 'for the work of a moment you can gain heavenly reward'.²⁰⁷

The scheme to send a force to Asia Minor was later believed in the Roman curia to have foreshadowed the First Crusade,²⁰⁸ but it evaporated, overtaken by growing tension between Gregory and those hostile to radical reform. The pope, whose emotions were pushing him into taking more extreme measures, now called on his supporters to use force to resist those who opposed his programme and he repeated that such an act of merit on their part would be rewarded. Although they could 'attain the crown', he does not seem to have considered that only death brought reward. They were engaged, he wrote, 'in defending righteousness for the name of Christ and in order to win eternal recompense in a holy war so

²⁰⁵ Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Leodicensium epistola', 464.

²⁰⁶ See Greg Reg 190, 276–7, 524.

²⁰⁷ Greg Reg 70–1, 75–6, 128, 166, 173; Greg Ep Vag 10–12. See also H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's "Crusading" Plans of 1074', *Outremer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), 27–40.

²⁰⁸ *Liber pontificalis*: 'Vita Urbani II' 2.293. See also *Studio Gratiana* 22 (1978), 699.

pleasing to God'.²⁰⁹ He called on the faithful to help Christ and the Roman Church, 'your father and mother, if through them you desire absolution of all your sins and blessing and grace in this world and the next'.²¹⁰

He had a close spiritual relationship with Mathilda of Tuscany and there is evidence that ideas were being exchanged between his circle and hers. In 1079 he wrote in threatening terms to a noble called Wezelin, who had rebelled against the romanizing King Demetrius Zvonimir of Dalmatia, that if he did not mend his ways, 'know that we will unsheath the sword of St Peter against your presumption'.²¹¹ This looks like a reference to the right of a pope to authorize the use of force which was to be justified a year or two later by John of Mantua.

It was in the course of this dialogue that the concept of penitential war appeared, leading the opponent of reform Wenrich of Trier to accuse Gregory of 'inciting to bloodshed . . . secular men seeking release from their sins'.²¹² Sigebert of Gembloux was later to write that Gregory had first put forward the idea that warfare could be penitential when he 'had ordered the Marchioness Mathilda to fight the Emperor Henry for the remission of her sins'.²¹³ The phrase *remissio peccatorum*, echoing the Nicene Creed's definition of baptism, could hardly have had a more potent sound to it. Gregory's reasoning is revealed in a life of Anselm of Lucca, in which one of Anselm's priests described how he transmitted a blessing from Anselm to Mathilda's army in 1085.

We were to impose on the soldiers the danger of the coming battle for the remission of all their sins.²¹⁴

Anselm had obviously been persuaded of the validity of penitential war and was justifying it with the argument that the act of fighting in a just cause was a penance because it was dangerous.

This created a new category of warfare. For a time crusading was to be only one manifestation of it, although the most important: a Pisan attack on Mahdia in North Africa in 1087 was believed to be an engagement 'for the remission of sins';²¹⁵ and in the euphoria that

²⁰⁹ Greg Ep Vag 54.

²¹⁰ Greg Ep Vag 134.

²¹¹ Greg Reg 463–4. See also Erdmann, *The Origin*, 203–4.

²¹² Wenrich of Trier, 'Epistola sub Theoderici episcopi Viridunensis nomine composita', 296.

²¹³ Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Leodicensium epistola', 464.

²¹⁴ Bardo, 'Vita Anselmi episcopi Lucensis', 20.

²¹⁵ Monte Cassino 453. For further details, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Mahdia Campaign of 1087', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 1–29.

followed the liberation of Jerusalem Pope Paschal II appealed to Robert of Flanders, who had just got back home, to fight another penitential war against the opponents of reform.²¹⁶ In the decade before the First Crusade the concept must have been permeating through the networks of *fideles* and other supporters of the reform papacy, spreading through their families and also from sympathetic monastic communities into the countryside around. But like so much of the radical thought bubbling up during the Investiture Contest, it would have been hard to defend on theological grounds. It would never have been easy to justify the inflicting of pain and loss of life, with the consequential distortion of the perpetrator's internal dispositions, as a penance simply because the penitent was exposing himself to danger, however unpleasant the experience might have been for him. It was to be Pope Urban II's achievement to give the idea a context in which it could be presented more convincingly, because he associated it with the most charismatic of all traditional penances, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

²¹⁶ See N. J. Housley, 'Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c.1000–1216', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 20.

Chapter 3— Preaching and the Crusaders

During a dry hot summer, which must have been that of 1095, the last of several years of drought, 'the fiery heat of the sun was burning up the land of Aulnay and all that was in it, castles, villages, houses, cornfields and vineyards, and meadows and all green places, and men could not find rest anywhere from the sun's excessive heat'. The viscount, Chalo VII, and his subjects sought divine intervention by processing barefoot to the abbey of St Jean d'Angély, carrying a feretory (a portable reliquary) in which were the bones of St Just. On the way they stopped at the chapel of the priory of St Julien, a dependency of the nunnery of Notre-Dame de Saintes, and placed the feretory on the altar. After spending some time in prayer they wanted to set off again, but they were astonished to find the feretory so firmly attached to the altar that it could not be lifted and it remained unmovable even after they had been reduced to scourging themselves in penance for their sins. At this point the prioress and her chaplain complained that Chalo had been oppressing St Julien's tenants — there had obviously been some dispute about their obligations to him — and they predicted that the feretory would remain fixed until he renounced his pretensions. Chalo and his leading subjects caved in at once and agreed to abandon all the rights he had claimed from St Julien's tenants, whereupon 'we lifted the feretory, which had become so light that we could scarcely feel its weight, and we proceeded to St Jean with the greatest joy'. Some time later Chalo volunteered to join the First Crusade and solemnly confirmed his renunciation of rights before the altar of Notre-Dame de Saintes.¹

A historian has drawn attention to the part played by the prioress in this episode as an example of the self-confidence and standing of

¹ Notre-Dame de Saintes 139–40.

the heads of female religious houses at the time.² As to what actually happened at St Julien on that hot summer's day, one should never discount the paranormal effects of auto-suggestion, induced by exhaustion, the solemnity of the procession in the heat and the repetition of mantras, on pilgrims who had been conditioned to expect physical manifestations in this world of divine pleasure or displeasure. But why was Chalo moved to become a crusader? What was the link between a local act of peaceful devotion and his decision to pilgrimage abroad to war? It must be significant that between the traumatic events at St Julien and Chalo's taking of the cross there had occurred Pope Urban's cavalcade through the region.³

The pope had entered Provence, far to the south-east, in the late summer of 1095, visiting Valence and Romans before proceeding to Le Puy and La Chaise-Dieu. He had then turned south by way of Chirac and Millau to Nîmes, St Gilles and Tarascon, before travelling up the Rhône valley through Avignon to Lyons. He was at Mâcon on 17 October, at Cluny from the 18th to the 25th and at Autun at the end of the month. He reached Clermont on 14 November and stayed there until 2 December. The council he had summoned sat from 18 to 28 November; on the 27th he preached his famous sermon proclaiming the crusade.

It has often been said that at the front of his mind during his year-long journey through France was the reform of the French Church. He certainly spent a significant amount of time grappling with local and national ecclesiastical issues, but it is possible that he had been considering calling for military assistance for the Byzantine empire since 1089 and a charter-writer in Le Mans stated explicitly that he had 'come to these parts to preach the journey to Jerusalem',⁴ which suggests that it was thought in some quarters that the crusade had priority. No man was better qualified than he for the task he had set himself. He was French, from a family of knights in Champagne. He had been educated at, and had been a canon and archdeacon of, Rheims, before entering Cluny, the most prestigious abbey of the time, where he had reached the office of prior, second-in-command to the abbot, and had been exposed to a pastoral approach which encouraged lay men and women to seek salvation through serving

² P. D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991), 237–9.

³ For the details of Urban's journey, see A. Becker, *Papst Urban II* (Stuttgart, 1964–88), 2.435–57.

⁴ St Pierre-de-la-Cour du Mans 4.15.

the Church in the world. He had then been called to the Roman curia, where he had been a cardinal and diplomatist involved in the whirlwind politics of reform and where he must have come across recent developments in the theology of violence. He could have had little notion how great the response to his summons would be: even after the council of Clermont, in December 1095, he was calling upon the Flemings to join the rest of the crusade at Le Puy, which suggests that he was expecting a relatively small army to gather there.⁵ But the outline of his plans must have been reasonably well thought-out before he reached French-speaking territory, because the essential elements in his message — the idea of a war on Christ's behalf as a penitential devotion with Jerusalem as its goal, the introduction of a vow to be made and a cross to be worn by the knights taking part, some explanation of the secular benefits they would enjoy and a preliminary choice of leaders for the expedition — emerge as a package.

Waves of rumour must have been sweeping ahead of his progress, generating interest in advance of his arrival at Clermont. The summoning of an expedition to march to the East had been aired at a council he had chaired at Piacenza in the spring, to which a Byzantine embassy had come to ask for help. Soon after he had entered French territory he must have discussed the matter with Adh  mar of Monteil, the bishop of Le Puy who was to be his representative on the crusade, with Raymond of St Gilles, the count of Toulouse, whom he already wanted to be leader, and with Bishop Gerald of Cahors, who was probably involved early in the planning.⁶ It is most unlikely that these meetings were confidential and it could be that a tradition in Burgundy that 'the first vows to go on the Jerusalem journey' were made at a council of thirty-six bishops which had met at Autun earlier in the year was well founded.⁷

At the very least there must have been a lot of talk in advance of the formal proclamation of war. The chronicler Albert of Aachen, the author (or adapter) of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena believed that the wandering evangelist Peter the Hermit was already proposing something similar to the crusade before November 1095 and had put the idea into the pope's

⁵ Kb 137.

⁶ WMGR 2.456–7. See Becker, *Papst Urban*, 1.20; R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974), 69 note 76.

⁷ 'Annales Besuenses' 250; 'Annales S. Benigni Divionensis' 43.

head. Peter must have been preaching some kind of religious expedition to Jerusalem before the council of Clermont, because, engaged as he was in frenzied activity, he would hardly have had the time to muster the force which was already on the march under his leadership by the spring of 1096 if he had only begun to recruit followers in December 1095.⁸ But I have come across no mention of him in the charters of departing crusaders, whereas references to Urban's initiative are regularly to be found. A charter-writer for Robert of Flanders stated that in taking the cross Robert had been 'responding to a divine command published by the authority of the apostolic see' and in 1098 Gerald of Cahors referred to the fact that Raymond of St Gilles had gone on crusade 'at the orders of and in obedience to Urban, the Roman pontiff, and many archbishops and other bishops'.⁹ Robert and Raymond were to be among the leaders of the army in Syria, who addressed the pope in September 1098 as the 'begetter of the holy journey' — 'you who originated this journey and by your speeches made us all leave our lands and whatever was in them' — and asked him to 'fulfil what you have encouraged us to do', and to complete 'the journey of Jesus Christ begun by us and preached by you' and 'the war which is your own'.¹⁰ Peter the Hermit seems to have been a congenital boaster and the story of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the appeal made to him by the Greek patriarch, the vision he experienced of Christ and the interview he had with the pope in Italy at which he persuaded Urban to summon men to Jerusalem's aid seems to have originated in Lorraine, not far from the abbey of Neumoustier where he lived out his last years; he became known there as the crusade's 'preacher and originator'.¹¹

After leaving Clermont Urban crossed France by way of Sauxillanges, Brioude, St Flour, Aurillac and Uzerche to Limoges, where he spent Christmas. He took the road again at the end of the first week of January 1096 and reached Angers on 6 February. After a stay of a week he travelled north through Sablé to Le Mans and Vendôme, where he was on the 26th. He then reversed direction,

⁸ AA 272–4; Ch d'A 1.30–5; Anna Comnena, *Alexiade*, 2.207; E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 22 (1984), 79–107; J. Flori, 'Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Ermite?', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995), 35–54.

⁹ Flanders 63; HGL 5.753. For other references to papal authority, see Marmoutier (Dunois) 80; St Aubin d'Angers Cart 1.407; St Vincent du Mans 190.

¹⁰ Kb 164.

¹¹ Neumoustier 815; Giles of Orval, 'Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium', 93.

reaching Tours on 3 March. He remained there for three weeks, before journeying by way of Poitiers, St Maixent, St Jean d'Angély and Saintes, Chalo of Aulnay's local centre, to Bordeaux. In May he continued by way of Nérac and Moissac, and he spent late May and early June in Toulouse, before proceeding through Carcassonne, Maguelonne and Montpellier to Nîmes. He returned to Italy in early September by way of Avignon, Arles, Apt, Forcalquier and Gap. He was about sixty years old and the journey must have been exhausting for him,¹² but for the residents of country towns, who had never in living memory seen a king, let alone anyone of such international importance, the excitement of his progress must have been intense.

He had brought an impressive entourage with him from Italy, including several of the senior officials of his curia. He entered Limoges on 23 December 1095 with a following that included two cardinals, the archbishop of Pisa who was to be sent out to the East as papal legate and was to become the first canonical Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, and a flock of French prelates: the archbishops of Lyons, Bourges and Bordeaux, and the bishops of Poitiers, Périgueux, Saintes and Rodez, together, of course, with the bishop of Limoges himself.¹³ If one allows for the riding households accompanying these personages, the pope's train must have been enormous.

That would have been dramatic enough, but the theatricality displayed by Urban wherever he went must have heightened the sense of occasion. This was not self-indulgence on his part; he was deliberately playing to the taste of his audiences. He wrote later that he had been 'stimulating the minds of knights to go on this expedition'¹⁴ and no one knew better than him, since he insisted on crusaders making a vow which, like all vows, had in Church law to be voluntarily entered into, that the success of his summons depended on the spontaneous response to it of individuals from the armsbearing classes. Coming, like most of the bishops and abbots who accompanied him, from their milieu he often focused his message directly on the French-speaking magnates, castellans and knights, wrapping it up in compliments; in the Limousin, for example, he referred to them as 'disciplined in arms and war'.¹⁵ As well as the set-piece occasions he must have been targeting certain

¹² Becker, *Papst Urban*, 1.31.

¹³ 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses de praedicatione crucis in Aquitania' 352–3.

¹⁴ 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313.

¹⁵ 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 352.

nobles face to face; one would dearly like to know what he said to them.

Everywhere he went he dedicated cathedrals, churches and altars, giving his imprimatur in the most solemn way to a massive building programme which had been undertaken in recent years by the French Church.¹⁶ He presided over councils at Clermont (November 1095), Tours (March 1096) and Nîmes (July 1096), at which his already impressive following was greatly augmented. He preached his first public sermon on the crusade in the open air, in a field outside the town of Clermont. This, it should be remembered, was at the onset of winter. Although it was risky to attempt anything like this so late in the year, the occasion seems to have been carefully stage-managed, from Adhémar of Monteil's melodramatic response to Urban's sermon — he came forward at once to take the cross — to the acclamations of at least some of the crowd, which must have been rehearsed. Urban seems to have instructed bishops to bring with them to the council the leading nobles in their dioceses, but not many important laymen had turned up and the theatre must have fallen a little flat.¹⁷ He also preached in the open air at Tours on the banks of the Loire; that was in March.¹⁸ He made a detour to celebrate the feast of the Assumption at the great Marian shrine of Le Puy and he kept the feasts of St Giles and St Hilary at their respective cult-centres, St Gilles and Poitiers.¹⁹ At Limoges he celebrated two Christmas Masses, at the abbeys of Notre-Dame de la Règle and St Martial. He was 'triumphantly crowned', presumably with his tiara, at this time a conical white cap with one circlet of gold and gems around the base,²⁰ and he processed, wearing his tiara, to the cathedral of St Stephen, where he presided over the rest of the day's office. He dedicated the cathedral church on 29 December and on the following day the basilica of St Martial; he celebrated Mass there and then preached the cross.²¹ Geoffrey, the founder of the

¹⁶ R. Crozet, 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France (1095–6) et son importance au point de vue archéologique', *Annales du Midi* 49 (1937), 42–69.

¹⁷ Lambert of Arras, 'De primatu sedis Atrebatensis', 645; Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', 57–8, 78–9.

¹⁸ Becker, *Papst Urban*, 2.446.

¹⁹ Becker, *Papst Urban*, 2.436–7, 444.

²⁰ F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq *et. al.*, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 15,2 (Paris, 1953), 2294.

²¹ 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 350–3; Geoffrey of Le Chalard, 'Dictamen de primordiis ecclesiae Castaliensis', 348.

priory of Le Chalard, who himself wanted to crusade but was prevented from going by his community, wrote:

At Limoges we saw [the pope] with our own eyes and we were in the crowds of the faithful at his consecrations . . . In a good sermon he encouraged the people standing there to take the road to Jerusalem. Thanks be to you, Oh Christ; for you watered the swelling corn which grew from the seed sown by him, not only in our region, but also throughout the world.²²

On the pope's arrival at Angers we catch a glimpse of his progress through the eyes of one of the nobles, Count Fulk IV of Anjou.

At the approach of Lent the Roman pope Urban came to Angers and encouraged our people to go to Jerusalem to drive out the heathen, who had occupied that city and all Christian territory as far as Constantinople. Then on Septuagesima Sunday [10 February 1096] the church of St Nicolas was dedicated by the pope and the body of my uncle Geoffrey was translated into the same church . . . Then he left and went to Le Mans and from thence to Tours. There . . . in the middle of Lent he was crowned and was led in solemn procession from the church of St Maurice to the church of St Martin, where he gave me the golden flower he carried in his hand. In loving memory of this I have ordered the flower to be borne on Palm Sunday by me and by my successors.

Fulk did not join the crusade himself, but the events he thought worth recording are significant: the preaching of the cross at Angers; the dedication of the abbey church of St Nicolas d'Angers, a monastery founded by his family, and the transference into the body of the church of the corpse of his uncle, who had ended his days as a member of the community; Urban in procession at Tours, wearing his tiara, and his gift to Fulk of the golden rose publicly carried by popes on the Fourth Sunday in Lent.²³ This is an early example of the practice by twelfth-century popes of presenting the rose to those they wished to honour. The marks of favour to the count are usually explained as Urban's reaction to a scandal that was sweeping France at the time, for the king had made off with the count's wife. But were they unique? This is the only eyewitness account dictated by a magnate; we cannot tell whether Urban made equally extravagant gestures to nobles who, unlike Fulk, actually took the cross, such as Raymond of St Gilles, Helias of La Flèche, or Hugh the Great of Vermandois, the last of

²² Geoffrey of Le Chalard 348. See G. Tenant de la Tour, *L'Homme et la Terre de Charlemagne à Saint Louis* (Paris, 1943), 357–60.

²³ Fulk IV of Anjou, 'Gesta Andegavensium peregrinorum', 345–6.

whom was to be carrying a *vexillum sancti Petri* — a banner given him by the pope — when he entered the Byzantine empire.²⁴

The purpose of the theatre was, of course, to focus minds on Urban's message. A lot of effort has gone into trying to establish what his thoughts and words were, but the evidence which survives is not much to go on. We have six of his letters which refer to the expedition,²⁵ three purportedly verbatim accounts by eyewitnesses of his proclamation of war at Clermont²⁶ — although all were written several years later, after the crusade had triumphed, and they differ in significant ways — and one passing reference to it by another eyewitness,²⁷ some brief reports of other sermons delivered in France,²⁸ and the texts of two crusade decrees of the council of Clermont and the description of another.²⁹ The unsatisfactory nature of the material has given rise to endless debate, but no one has ventured to analyse the perceptions of Urban's audience, although the crusade was a product as much of the reactions of the men and women who were inspired to join it as of the pope's intentions. In one striking respect his message was distorted by some of them when they embarked on their savage vendetta against the western Jewish communities.³⁰ But an examination of their charters, the most revealing evidence for their feelings, leads one to the conclusion that this was not a typical reaction. While on the whole they did not run away with Urban's message down paths of their own choosing — if anything they were more conventional than he was — they did take from it those elements that matched their preconceptions and aspirations.

The aim of the crusade was described in one of the surviving decrees of the council of Clermont as 'the liberation of the Church of God [in Jerusalem]'.³¹ Urban referred to it in a letter sent to Flanders a month later as 'the liberation of the eastern churches'³² and in another, written to the abbey of Vallombrosa, as 'the

²⁴ Anna Comnena 2.213–14.

²⁵ Kb 136–8; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313–14; *Papsturkunden in Spanien I. Katalonien* 2.287–8; Urban II, 'Epistolae et Privilegia', 504; *HGL* 5.744–6.

²⁶ FC 132–8; RR 727–30; BB 12–16.

²⁷ Geoffrey of Vendôme, 'Epistolae', 162.

²⁸ See H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55 (1970), 181.

²⁹ *Decreta Claromontensia* 74, 150; HP 169–70; *HGL* 5.748. See R. Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont and the First Crusade', *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976), 325–37.

³⁰ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 52–7.

³¹ *Decreta Claromontensia* 74.

³² Kb 136.

liberation of Christianity'.³³ In the letter to Flanders he justified his summons to war as a response to Muslim aggression.

The barbarians in their frenzy have invaded and ravaged the churches of God in the eastern regions. Worse still, they have seized the Holy City of Christ, embellished by his passion and resurrection, and — it is blasphemy to say it — they have sold her and her churches into abominable slavery.³⁴

He explained to the monks of Vallombrosa that he had been summoning knights 'to restrain by their arms the Muslims' savagery and restore the Christians to their former freedom'³⁵ and he informed some nobles in Catalonia that the crusaders had decided 'with one mind to go to the aid of the Asian Church and to liberate their brothers from the tyranny of the Muslims'.³⁶

He was calling, therefore, on men to vow to fight on Christ's behalf a war of liberation from Muslim tyranny, which related to people — the 'Church of God', 'the eastern churches', 'Christianity', 'their brothers' — as much as to a place: the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³⁷ It was suggested sixty years ago, and it is still argued by some, that a distinction in his letters between the eastern churches in general and Jerusalem in particular reveals a contradiction between his immediate intention, which was to lend assistance to the Byzantine empire, and his use of the goal of Jerusalem as a weapon of propaganda; a march to Jerusalem would necessarily involve assisting the 'eastern churches' of Constantinople and perhaps Antioch.³⁸ But no mention is made anywhere in the crusaders' charters of helping Constantinople, whereas references to Jerusalem are to be found everywhere. This is not surprising when one considers that the Byzantine emperor Alexius may have been floating the idea of the liberation of Jerusalem himself in letters written to western nobles in advance of the pope's journey through France.³⁹ Although it is possible that Urban's audience simply took him literally, so that even while he was still engaged in preaching in France the desire to liberate Jerusalem had taken centre stage, it is more likely that the charters reflect the fact that the goal of Jerusalem was a reality. Some of them, indeed, are so resonant with expressions which we know for certain the pope used or approved that the composers must have had before them something of his in writing. Robert of Flanders was

³³ 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313.

³⁴ Kb 136.

³⁵ 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313.

³⁶ *Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien* 2.287.

³⁷ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 18.

³⁸ Erdmann, *The Origin*, 355–71.

³⁹ Gislebert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, 40.

'going to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God' — here almost the same words are used as in the Clermont decree — 'which has been trodden under foot by barbaric nations for a long time'.⁴⁰ Bishop Gerald of Cahors in Languedoc reported that Raymond of St Gilles had gone 'on pilgrimage to wage war on foreign peoples and defeat barbaric nations, lest the Holy City of Jerusalem be held captive and the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord Jesus be contaminated any longer'.⁴¹ A charter written for the castellan Nivelon of Fréteval in Touraine made reference to 'Jerusalem which has been hitherto enslaved with her children'.⁴²

Other aspects of the pope's message were echoed, or are clarified for us, in the responses to it. Although the belief expressed by the bishop of Cahors that Muslim rule had contaminated the Holy Sepulchre is not to be found in any surviving letter from Urban, it is included in the accounts of his sermon at Clermont written by the eyewitnesses Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Bourgueil.⁴³ That they must have been remembering something that was actually said is confirmed by another charter reference to it. The Gascon lord Amanieu of Loubens was reported feeling inspired to 'fight and kill those opposed to the Christian religion, nay rather to cleanse the place in which the Lord Jesus Christ deigned to undergo death for the restoration of the human race'.⁴⁴ Introducing the cross as a distinctive symbol of the vow of commitment, Urban was reported by those who had heard him at Clermont associating the taking and wearing of it in a highly charged way with Christ's precept, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' (Matthew 16:24 or Luke 14:27).⁴⁵ The assertion by the crusade leaders in Syria, when writing to him in 1098, that 'you ordered us to follow Christ carrying our crosses',⁴⁶ is evidence that he had spoken in this way and I have found three charter references to the imagery of bearing the cross, two in endowments made by the crusaders Wolfker of Kuffern and Henry II of Regensburg to the community of Göttweig in Upper Austria.⁴⁷ Presumably someone from the region had been to Clermont and had been particularly struck by the pope's words: one eyewitness reported the presence of

⁴⁰ Flanders 63. See also his wife Clemency's charter. Kb 142.

⁴¹ HGL 5.753.

⁴² St Père de Chartres 2.428.

⁴³ RR 727–8; BB 13.

⁴⁴ St Pierre de la Réole 140.

⁴⁵ RR 730; BB 16.

⁴⁶ Kb 164.

⁴⁷ Göttweig 194, 197. In 1118 Count Fulk V of Anjou applied this scriptural reference to the pilgrimages in the early eleventh century of Count Fulk III. Toussaint d'Angers 147.

German bishops at the council.⁴⁸ The third reference is in a charter issued by Bishop Peter of Limoges, who in 1101 was managing the diocese of Périgueux in the absence of its bishop, Rainald of Thiviers. He described Rainald as 'carrying Christ's cross to Jerusalem'.⁴⁹ Peter had only recently succeeded to his bishopric, but Rainald of Thiviers had been at Clermont⁵⁰ and, as we have seen, Urban had preached in Limoges during Christmastide 1095.

The emphasis given in the accounts of the pope's sermon at Clermont to his conviction that he was speaking on God's behalf is also reflected in the documents. The Burgundian castellan Achard of Montmerle believed he was going to fight for God;⁵¹ so did Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin of Boulogne, who, according to a charter issued for their mother, were 'preparing to fight for God in Jerusalem'.⁵² Crusaders in their letters written on campaign referred to themselves as 'fighting for Christ'⁵³ and to the crusade as 'the army of God', 'the army of the Lord', and 'the army of Christ'.⁵⁴ Urban had written that those who took the cross were inspired by God⁵⁵ and this idea certainly struck home. Robert of Flanders's heart was 'inflamed with the grace of the holy spirit',⁵⁶ and he and Baldwin of Mons were inspired by divine grace.⁵⁷ Eudes of Burgundy was 'fired with divine zeal and love of Christianity' and 'inspired by divine clemency'.⁵⁸

The pope also stressed the old notion of the knight serving God in arms,⁵⁹ although it took second place in his message to the idea of the knight as a penitent. The Provençal lord Guy of Roumoulès 'desired to go to the Lord's Sepulchre in the service of Our Lord Jesus Christ'⁶⁰ and the north French castellan Anselm II of Ribemont wrote from Syria of 'those who sweat here in the service of God'.⁶¹ According to the crusader Raymond of Aguilers, Raymond of St Gilles refused to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople, saying that 'he had not come to make another man his lord or to fight for another save him on whose account he had left his

⁴⁸ RR 727. See the lists of bishops in Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', 62–82.

⁴⁹ Limoges 18.

⁵⁰ Somerville, 'The Council of Clermont (1095) and Latin Christian Society', 72.

⁵¹ Cluny 5.51.

⁵² 'Document inédit pour servir à l'histoire des croisades' 99.

⁵³ Kb 162.

⁵⁴ Kb 138, 139, 144, 149, 150, 157, 160.

⁵⁵ Kb 137.

⁵⁶ Kb 142.

⁵⁷ Robert: Flanders 66. Baldwin: St Lambert de Liège 1.47.

⁵⁸ Molesme 2.18; St Bénigne de Dijon 2.174. For other examples, see Afflighem 19; Forez 1.1; St Mihiel 191.

⁵⁹ FC 136–7; BB 14–15.

⁶⁰ Lérins 289.

⁶¹ Kb 144.

country and its goods'.⁶² In the long run, as chivalry began to permeate crusading, the concept of service for Christ was to threaten to outweigh that of personal penitence. A second theme in later crusading thought, fighting for the name of Christ, was expressed by a charter-writer for Robert of Flanders when he claimed that the crusade might be a means 'by which the holy honour of God's name may be spread'.⁶³ Shortly after Robert's return the bishop of Tournai referred to the way he had 'fought faithfully and manfully against the pagans to the praise and glory of Christ's name'.⁶⁴ Perhaps this was another echo of an element in Urban's original message, because Robert and the other leaders wrote to him from Syria that 'you impressed upon us the need to exalt the Christian name'.⁶⁵

The pope was reported drawing attention at Clermont to the exploits of the Franks under their Carolingian rulers.⁶⁶ One might assume that this would have been a natural thing for him to do, since he was a Frank himself. If educated clergy could be struck by the fact that this was an appeal to the Franks like those made by the popes in the days of the Carolingians⁶⁷ — it would, in fact, have been the first since then and Urban's solemn crown-wearing in procession through the streets carried echoes of the forged historical document, the *Donation of Constantine*, with its implications of papal imperium, which had justified the conquests of the eighth-century Franks in Italy — then surely the symbolism would not have been lost on the armsbearers, brought up on legends of Carolingian greatness, whom the pope was summoning to reconquer lands that had once belonged to the Roman empire.⁶⁸ But it is unlikely that Urban would have dwelt consistently on this theme, at any rate when recruiting in Provence, Upper Burgundy and Languedoc, regions peopled not by 'Franks' but by 'Burgundians' and 'Goths' or Aquitanians, who would not have taken kindly to it,⁶⁹ and although the idea of the Franks as a chosen people, expressed in the theme *Gesta Dei per Francos*, was to be dominant in the narrative accounts of the crusade, I have seen no charter written on behalf of a first crusader containing the word 'Frank'. In fact it was very rarely used in the crusaders' own correspondence: once by Stephen of Blois and once by Anselm of

⁶² RA 41.

⁶³ Flanders 63.

⁶⁴ Afflighem 19.

⁶⁵ Kb 164.

⁶⁶ RR 728.

⁶⁷ See GN Gesta 135–6.

⁶⁸ See Ibn al-Athir 1.193; also GF 66; PT 108; Kb 160.

⁶⁹ For tension between the different peoples on the First Crusade, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 86.

Ribemont.⁷⁰ In his letter to Flanders the pope had written simply that 'we visited the Gauls [the whole of Roman Gaul which had encompassed much more than did Francia] and urged most fervently the lords and subjects of that land . . .'.⁷¹ An echo of this is to be found in a charter from Auvergne in which reference was made to the response of the people of the Gauls,⁷² but most, even those written in Frankish regions, alluded to recruitment among Christians or Christianity in general. When writers wanted to be more specific they used the term 'westerners',⁷³ although one also mentioned 'northerners'.⁷⁴ Some, indeed, were keen to demonstrate how universal the reaction to the pope's appeal had been. A charter writer from Angers referred to the time 'when Pope Urban first incited all the world to go to Jerusalem'; and in Auvergne Peter and Pons II of Fay wished 'to journey to Jerusalem, just as was being done by all Christian people'.⁷⁵

The earliest reference to the crusade as an army of the Franks was made not by a westerner but by the Emperor Alexius once it had struck out into Asia Minor on its own, although he may well have been repeating a phrase in a letter written to him by the abbot of Monte Cassino.⁷⁶ As we have seen, the crusaders had probably set out believing that they would be joining a Byzantine army in Constantinople and would be serving under the command of Alexius himself. It was only after they had discovered that they would have to operate on their own and as the greatness of their achievement began to dawn on them that the uniqueness of a 'Frankish' contribution became worth stressing, at least by those of them who were Franks themselves. The Frankishness of the enterprise, in other words, should be added to the list of ideas which grew out of their experiences on the march.⁷⁷

So far we have seen the charters confirming or amplifying Urban's rhetoric. But their language sometimes differs from that found in the pope's letters or in the eyewitness reports of his sermons. For example, Urban assured his audiences that the enterprise would be a demonstration of Christian charity, because the

⁷⁰ Kb 150, 160.

⁷¹ Kb 136.

⁷² Sauxillanges 884.

⁷³ Le Ronceray d'Angers 93; St Julien de Tours 72; Afflighem 13.

⁷⁴ St Julien de Tours 72. See also Kb 141.

⁷⁵ St Aubin d'Angers Cart 1.407; HGL 5.751. See also Cluny 5.51; St Père de Chartres 2.628; Cormery 104.

⁷⁶ Kb 153.

⁷⁷ For other ideas developing during the crusade, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 91–119.

crusaders were going to risk their lives out of love of God and their neighbour.⁷⁸ The notion of charity was in theological terms an essential prerequisite for any justification of penitential violence, because fighting could then be treated as an act of mercy. But although recruits expressed their love of God — Amanieu of Loubens had been 'incited by love of' and Gerald of Landerron 'fired by the ardour of' the holy spirit,⁷⁹ and Peter Jordan of Châtillon had been 'fired with love of Christ'⁸⁰ — I have found no direct reference in the charters to the crusade as an exercise of fraternal love. This idea, so important to the theoreticians, cannot have had any appeal for the armsbearers, whose interest was in the seizure of a place, the tomb of Christ; in this respect they were treating the venture as a kind of *furtum sacrum*, the sanctified theft of a relic which, in the words of a Monte Cassino chronicler, they had set out to 'snatch'.⁸¹

It is obviously important to discover how they understood the central element in Urban's message, his preaching of a type of the penitential war first proposed by Pope Gregory VII. When in 1089 Urban had tried to persuade Catalans to contribute to the 'restoration' of the church of Tarragona in no-man's land between Christian and Moorish Spain — essentially its occupation, settlement and defence against the Moors — he had described this as a penitential activity for the remission of sins and, wanting to persuade those who intended to pilgrimage to Jerusalem to redirect in Tarragona's direction their energies and the cash they would have spent, he had promised them the same reward they would have gained by visiting the Holy Sepulchre. In other words, he had treated an act of war for the remission of sins as equal in merit to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁸² He followed this in 1095 by taking the logical step of associating the physical liberation of the Sepulchre directly with pilgrimages to it. This had a theoretical advantage over Gregory's formulation, which seems to have been justified merely by the danger involved, because violence was now associated with an act which was indubitably penitential and the council of Clermont was careful to attach the penance involved to the pilgrimage itself,⁸³ as was the abbot of

⁷⁸ Kb 137; *Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien* 2.287–8. See 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 352.

⁷⁹ St Pierre de la Réole 140, 141.

⁸⁰ Cornery 104.

⁸¹ Monte Cassino 475. For *furta sacra*, see P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1978), *passim*.

⁸² Urban II 303.

⁸³ *Decreta Claromontensia* 74.

Lérins six months later when he enjoined the Jerusalem journey on Fulk Doon of Châteaurenard.⁸⁴ The danger and physical hardships of the coming expedition still had significance of course, but they no longer provided the main justification for treating war as a penance; instead they gave added value to a penance which was primarily justified through its association with pilgrimage.⁸⁵

At any rate, while on the one hand the pope used of the coming crusade the language of pilgrimage — *iter, via, labor*⁸⁶ — on the other he employed the military term 'Jerusalem expedition' (*Jherosolimitana expeditio*).⁸⁷ The pilgrim terms *peregrinatio, via, iter, iter beatum, iter Domini* and *sanctum iter*⁸⁸ were used in letters written on the march and in these the crusaders occasionally referred to themselves as 'pilgrims', but they also wrote of the 'army' (*exercitus*) in which they were serving. A similar marriage of pilgrimage and military terminology is to be found in the charters. In one written for Achard of Montmerle the crusade was not only referred to as 'the Jerusalem pilgrimage', but also as 'such a . . . great . . . expedition (*expeditio*) of the Christian people contending to go to Jerusalem to fight for God against the pagans and the Muslims'.⁸⁹ Another Burgundian charter, issued for two men called Bernard and Eudes, repeated that the crusade was both a pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*) and an expedition (*expeditio*);⁹⁰ and twenty years later one written in Anjou on behalf of Geoffrey Fulcard of Loudun showed how interchangeable these words had become in this context by referring to the crusade of 1120 as a 'pilgrimage or expedition (*peregrinationem sive expeditionem*)'.⁹¹

Other charters written at the time of the First Crusade reveal how Urban's audience understood and responded to the concept of a war-pilgrimage. Aimery Brun in the Limousin both wanted 'to go with the Christian people to fight against the Muslims and wished to visit the Sepulchre of the Lord which is in Jerusalem'.⁹² In Provence the brothers Guy and Geoffrey of Signes took the cross 'on the one hand for the grace of the pilgrimage and on the other, under the protection of God, to wipe out the defilement of the pagans and the

⁸⁴ Lérins 312.

⁸⁵ See OV 5.16–18.

⁸⁶ Kb 136, 138; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313.

⁸⁷ HGL 5.745; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313. Urban also used the word *expeditio* of the plans in Catalonia to reoccupy and hold Tarragona. *Papsturkunden in Spanien* 2.287.

⁸⁸ Kb 138, 139, 150, 160, 165, 177.

⁸⁹ Cluny 5.51–2.

⁹⁰ Cluny 5.59. For other references to *expeditio*, see Aureil 161; Cluny 5.59; St Chaffre du Monastier 89, 140; St Vincent de Mâcon 315.

⁹¹ Le Ronceray d'Angers 186; for the date, see 354.

⁹² St Martial de Limoges 347.

immoderate madness through which innumerable Christians have already been oppressed, made captive and killed with barbaric fury'.⁹³ 'The grace of the pilgrimage' was, of course, the merit gained through the performance of penances. The Council of Clermont had decreed that whoever joined the crusade 'for devotion alone, not to gain honour or money . . . can substitute this journey for all penance'.⁹⁴ Urban himself promised the crusaders that

if any men among you go there not because they desire earthly profit but only for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, we, acting as much on our own authority as on that of all the archbishops and bishops in the Gauls, through the mercy of almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church, relieve them of all penance imposed for their sins, of which they have made a genuine and full confession.⁹⁵

He also enjoined the crusade on the recruits 'for the remission of all their sins'.⁹⁶ Some historians have drawn attention to what they believe to be another contradiction here — between on the one hand dispensing crusaders from the performance of penances imposed in the confessional and on the other relieving them from the punitive consequences of past sins in this world or the next — and it has been suggested that a confusion in Urban's thinking was resolved only because those who preached on his behalf and those who answered his call took what he said to mean relief rather than dispensation.⁹⁷ But in the context of contemporary penitential theology there can have been no contradiction, because the terms Urban used came to the same thing. Urban's crusade 'indulgence' was not really an indulgence at all. It was the categorization of the crusade as a penitential war of the type established by Pope Gregory VII and it was an authoritative pastoral statement that the penance the crusaders were taking on themselves was going to be so severe that it would be fully 'satisfactory', in the sense that God would be repaid not only the debts of punishment owed on account of their recent sins, for which penances had not yet been performed, but also any residue left over from earlier penances which had not been satisfactory enough. Urban, therefore, was not granting a spiritual privilege, which was what the developed indulgence would be in that it presupposed that God would treat a meritorious act as if it was 'satisfactory' even though it was not; he was proclaiming a war in

⁹³ St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.167.

⁹⁴ *Decreta Claromontensia* 74.

⁹⁵ Kb 137.

⁹⁶ Kb 136.

⁹⁷ See Mayer, *The Crusades*, 30–1.

which the fighters would be imposing condign punishment on themselves by their own efforts.

In this the pope was, in effect, creating a new type of pilgrimage, like the *peregrinatio religiosa* in that it was volunteered out of devotion, but also like the penitential one in that its performance constituted a formal penance and was set by him in the context of the confessional;⁹⁸ in fact a century later a distinction was being made between a crusade enjoined by a confessor and one volunteered out of devotion. The writer of the Monte Cassino Chronicle, probably a curial official who came to know Urban's mind, believed that he had set the crusade in motion to provide a means of satisfying 'the penitence of the prince . . . because they could not do penance at home for their innumerable crimes and as laymen were very embarrassed to be seen keeping company without weapons'. The nobles, he continued, 'vowed on the authority and with the advice of Pope Urban to take the road overseas to snatch the Sepulchre of the Lord from the Muslims in penitence and for the remission of their sins'.⁹⁹ In other words, the summons to crusade was at one level a pastoral move, giving armsbearers the chance of contributing to their own salvation by undertaking a severe penance which did not entail the abandonment of their profession of arms and the humiliating loss of status involved in pilgrimaging abroad as normal penitents without weapons, equipment and horses. And a commentary on the crusade as something deliberately created so that nobles and knights could function as soldiers not just for the Church's benefit but also for their own is to be found in the contemporary historian Guibert of Nogent's famous statement.

God has instituted in our time holy wars, so that the order of knights and the crowd running in their wage . . . might find a new way of gaining salvation. And so they are not forced to abandon secular affairs completely by choosing the monastic life or any religious profession, as used to be the custom, but can attain in some measure God's grace while pursuing their own careers, with the liberty and in the dress to which they are accustomed.¹⁰⁰

There can be no doubt that the crusaders understood that they were performing a penance and that the exercise they were embarking on could contribute to their future salvation. On 22 May 1096 Fulk Doon of Châteaurenard in Provence came to the abbey of Lérins, where the abbot handed him the symbols of pilgrimage and

⁹⁸ See Kb 137.

⁹⁹ Monte Cassino 475.

¹⁰⁰ GN Gesta 124.

'enjoined the journey to Jerusalem on him as a penance'.¹⁰¹ While Miles of Bray from Champagne was absent in the East he was reported 'doing penance for his guilt'.¹⁰² Ulric Bucel, who was going in 1101 in the company of Count Geoffrey I Jordan of Vendôme, 'made . . . his brother his heir and took the road to Jerusalem so that he might gain Christ, caring more for the salvation of his soul than the honour of an earthly inheritance'.¹⁰³ In 1096 Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne were 'seized with the hope of an eternal inheritance and with love'.¹⁰⁴

A consequence, to which Guibert of Nogent drew attention, was that crusading could be considered a valid alternative to profession into the religious life, which had been popularly thought to be the only trustworthy route to salvation available to the repentant sinner. In the Limousin, Brunet of Treuil had intended to enter the priory of Aureil, but now he changed his mind; he must have seen in the crusade a way of satisfying his desire for a more positive life while remaining in the world. He persuaded the priory to use the rent from his entry-gift to buy him equipment — possibly armour — and a young man, probably a relation, was found to take his place in the community.¹⁰⁵ A similar case may have been that of Eudes Betevin from near Châteaudun, who had been involved in a dispute with Marmoutier over property he was claiming as part of his patrimony. Eudes fell ill and informed the local prior that he wanted to enter the abbey and that he would renounce his claims as his entry gift. But when the prior returned from a visit to Marmoutier he found that Eudes had recovered and was now saying that he preferred to go to Jerusalem than become a monk.¹⁰⁶ In southern Italy, the mind of the future crusade leader Tancred Marchisus had been troubled by the contradictions for a Christian in the life he led.

But after the judgement of Pope Urban granted remission of all their sins to all Christians going out to fight the gentiles, then at last, as if previously asleep, his vigour was aroused, his powers grew, his eyes opened, his courage was born. For before . . . his mind was divided, uncertain whether to follow in the footsteps of the Gospel or the world. But after the call to arms in the service of Christ, the two-fold reason for fighting inflamed him beyond belief.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Lérins 312.

¹⁰² Longpont 184. See also St Bénigne de Dijon 2.174.

¹⁰³ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.158. See also Cluny 5.108; St Pierre de la Réole 141.

¹⁰⁴ 'Document inédit' 99.

¹⁰⁵ Aureil 29.

¹⁰⁶ Marmoutier (Dunois) 123.

¹⁰⁷ RC 605–6.

One element in Urban's 'indulgence' does seem to have constituted a spiritual privilege, at least in embryo. Two of the eye-witnesses at Clermont reported that he assured his audience that any remission of sins for those who died after taking the cross but before reaching Jerusalem would be granted immediately rather than being dependent on the completion of the penitential act: 'God distributes his own penny, at the first and the eleventh hour.'¹⁰⁸ This, one of them quoted him saying, was 'a gift from God'.¹⁰⁹ He seems to have returned to this subject in the letter to the Catalan nobles, in which he tried, unsuccessfully as it turned out, since at least two of the four counts addressed paid no attention,¹¹⁰ to persuade them not to join the crusade but to remain at home instead, to resist 'the tyranny and oppression of the Muslims' on their own frontier and to restore the city of Tarragona. He assured them that the war in Catalonia was one 'for the remission of sins' and that 'no one must doubt that if he dies on this expedition for the love of God and his brothers his sins will surely be forgiven and he will gain a share of eternal life through the most compassionate mercy of our God'.¹¹¹ There were certainly elements here which pointed forward to the mature indulgence, even if this 'gift' was simply a ruling that death while performing a penitential exercise was such a sacrifice that God would consider the penance to have been completed in its entirety.

But there are no echoes of this in the charters. Phrases are occasionally to be found which in their assumption that merit can be stored point forward to the concept of the Treasury of Merits which was to underpin the developed indulgence — the Lorrainer Quino son of Dodo, who surrendered property to the abbey of St Mihiel, went so far as to hope that this would benefit him by 'an augmentation of merit'¹¹² and Robert of Flanders believed God 'would restore to me the largesse of the unfailing penny'¹¹³ — but I have yet to come across any notion of divine privilege. On the contrary, the burden of obligation is placed firmly on the backs of the crusaders and running through many charters is a pessimistic piety, expressing itself in a horror of sin and a fear of its consequences. Responding to Urban's emphasis on the necessity for contrition, the crusaders openly craved forgiveness. They joined the expedition, as one of Nivelon of

¹⁰⁸ BB 15.

¹⁰⁹ FC 135.

¹¹⁰ Geoffrey III of Roussillon and William Jordan of Cerdagne.

¹¹¹ *Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien* 2287–8.

¹¹² St Mihiel 191.

¹¹³ Flanders 63.

Fréteval's charters put it, 'in order to obtain the pardon that God can give me for my crimes'.¹¹⁴ The same sentiments were put more elaborately on behalf of the Burgundian Stephen I of Neublans.

Considering how many are my sins and the love, clemency and mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, because when he was rich he became poor for our sake, I have determined to repay him in some measure for everything he has given me freely, although I am unworthy. And so I have decided to go to Jerusalem, where God was seen as man and spoke with men and to adore in the place where his feet trod.¹¹⁵

A related question, which has generated some debate,¹¹⁶ is how far those who died on the crusade were regarded from the first as martyrs. The idea of the martyrdom of soldiers is obviously a much more positive one than that of the remission of their sins and it has had a longer history; we have seen that since the ninth century some churchmen, including popes, had been occasionally assuring those going into battle in a just cause that they would be martyrs if they died and that this assurance was being made more firmly as the eleventh century progressed. Images of crusading martyrdom were to be exploited by propagandists in the future, but although it was relatively easy for churchmen to refer to this in general terms in their rhetoric, it was more difficult for them to apply it in specific cases, because no one could pretend to fathom the internal disposition of an individual cut down in the heat of battle. The crusade remission may have been more radical, because those who fought, and not simply those who died fighting, were assured of it, but it was an easier concept for churchmen to handle because, being dependent on the dead crusader having made an adequate confession — something known only to God and the crusader himself — it was not necessary for the church to make a public judgement on the whereabouts of his soul. There is an explicit reference to the prospect of martyrdom on the coming crusade in one account of Urban's sermon at Clermont, written by someone who was almost certainly not present,¹¹⁷ and an implicit one, in another account written by

¹¹⁴ St Père de Chartres 2.428.

¹¹⁵ Cluny 5.87–8. See also Cluny 5.59; St Martial de Limoges 347; St Bénigne de Dijon 2.174.

¹¹⁶ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 114–19; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 46–56; J. Flori, 'Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 85 (1990), 617–49 and 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100 L'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), 121–39.

¹¹⁷ GN Gesta 138.

someone who was.¹¹⁸ And as the crusaders who broke into Syria and marched on Jerusalem became convinced that their astounding success could be attributed only to divine intervention, some of them certainly came to believe that their dead were martyrs.¹¹⁹

It might be thought that the prospect of fathers, sons, brothers and husbands as martyrs would have appealed to their grieving families, but I have found no references to martyrdom in the charters of their heirs or other relations which mention their deaths. Nor did there develop anything like the *cultus* of an early crusader in the West, with perhaps one exception, the veneration in southern Italy of Rainald Porchet, who had been paraded on the walls of Antioch by the Muslims and killed in the sight of his co-religionists when he had refused to cooperate with his captors.¹²⁰ It was, of course, hard for cults to develop without bones or other relics, and the bodies of the crusading dead were very far away. It is worth noting that miracles were to be reported occurring when the corpses were more available, as at the tombs of two crusaders killed during the siege of Lisbon in 1147.¹²¹

If the dead had been regarded as martyrs they should have had no need for prayers, as a story circulating forty years before the crusade illustrates. After the defeat of his army by the Normans in the Battle of Civitate Pope Leo IX was said to have had a vision in which an angel persuaded him that there was no point in him saying Mass for the souls of his dead soldiers because they were saints whose death had been precious in the sight of God.¹²² In the aftermath of the crusade, however, Archbishop Manasses of Rheims provided evidence for the confusion reigning on this issue when he called on one of his suffragans — perhaps all of them — to pray for the dead, stating at the same time that they were 'crowned with glorious martyrdom'.¹²³ In their own charters crusaders asked for prayers for themselves when envisaging the prospect that they might be killed¹²⁴ and made endowments for the safety of their souls on their deathbeds during the campaign.¹²⁵ In their letters home their companions asked for prayers for the army's dead¹²⁶ and at least one heir of a man who did not come back, Hugh II of Burgundy,

¹¹⁸ BB 15.

¹¹⁹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 114–15.

¹²⁰ HP 194. For his death, see PT 79–81; Ch d'A 1.205, 212–33.

¹²¹ 'Annales Sancti Disibodi' 28.

¹²² Anonymus Haserensis 265.

¹²³ Kb 176.

¹²⁴ Aureil 192; Longpont 190; Lézat 17.189; St Georges de Rennes 270.

¹²⁵ Aureil 113–14, 126, 179; Vigeois 67–9.

¹²⁶ Kb 145, 160.

showered the churches in his duchy with gifts in return for intercessory prayer on behalf of the soul of his father Eudes, who had died in Asia Minor in 1101.¹²⁷ There was, of course, a legal reason why requests for prayers should be inserted in the eleemosynary grants made by crusaders and their families, because only then would their gifts qualify as free alms and be exempted from the jurisdiction of secular courts, but intercession could have been sought for parents and other relations rather than for the crusaders themselves. The charters suggest that the faithful could not be sure that the dead were really martyrs. Or they wondered whether adequate remission of sins had been gained by them: writing from Syria, Anselm of Ribemont may have wanted to flatter the archbishop of Rheims, but he went so far as to assure him that 'we are very dependent on your prayers and we put whatever we gain down not to our merits but to your prayers'.¹²⁸ Or, perhaps most likely, men and women doubted whether remission was certain for those who had died before reaching Jerusalem. The pope's assurances on this matter do not seem to have convinced his flock; as late as the middle of the thirteenth century St Thomas Aquinas was still dealing with anxieties on this score.¹²⁹

Most of the sentiments revealed in the charters, therefore, were conventional, sometimes more conventional than those of the pope and his entourage. The armsbearing public and its charter-writers, faced by a new penitential exercise which certainly attracted them, could not find an equivalently novel way of putting it into words, but had recourse to the ways of thought and forms of expression with which they were already familiar. Crusaders knew that they had been summoned by the pope to fight a war-pilgrimage on God's behalf — indeed they claimed their decisions to take the cross had been made under divine inspiration — and the liberation of Jerusalem was their goal from the start, but they were far more interested in freeing the place than in the sufferings of the eastern Christians. They saw themselves as penitents performing a severe penance, but they seem to have had little notion of what a full remission of sins meant — I know of only one charter, relating to the abbey of Cluny,

¹²⁷ St Etienne de Dijon 11; Burgundy (Plancher) 1, Preuves, xxxiv–xxxv; Burgundy (Pérard) 82–4; Chalon-sur-Saône, Preuves, 47–8. See also the endowment of Roger Mandeville, whose father Stephen died on the crusade of 1147. Montacute 140; 184–5.

¹²⁸ Kb 160.

¹²⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, Quodl 2, q.8, a.2; Quodl. 5, q.7, a.2 (pp. 36–8, 106).

which contains the phrase 'pro peccatorum . . . remissione'¹³⁰ — and they worried about dying on campaign with their vows unfulfilled. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the essence of Urban's message had been understood by them. They believed that their military service, at any rate if completed, would profit their souls. The crusade was for them as individuals only secondarily about benefiting the Church or Christianity; it was primarily about benefiting themselves. It was an act of self-sanctification and, as such, provided an answer to a question which had been troubling them and their families for a century. How could they make their peace with God except by abandoning the world for a monastic community and thereby turning their backs on their obligations and responsibilities? The pope had presented them with an alternative solution.

Enthusiasm can be traced along the path of Urban's journey through France — a high proportion of the first crusaders known to me came from localities within a day or two's ride of it — but he was anxious to spread the word further, although the evidence for what went on in his name in those regions he could not visit is fragmentary. Among his surviving letters there are two exhortatory ones, to Flanders and Bologna, but there must have been others. He encouraged bishops to preach the cross in their dioceses¹³¹ and several did so,¹³² although the only names we know for certain are those of Anselm of Buis, the reforming archbishop of Milan,¹³³ and the Venetian prelates Peter Badoaro, the patriarch of Grado, and Henry Contarini, the bishop of Castello.¹³⁴ Hugh, the archbishop of Lyons and an energetic promoter of reform, must have preached as well; his influence accounted for the recruitment in 1096 of Galdemar Carpenel of Dargoire, who acknowledged his debt to him,¹³⁵ and probably of Count William III of Forez, Hugh II of Usson-en-Forez and Durand Cheuvre, together with three others who left in 1101, including Count William VI of Auvergne. In 1100 Hugh, who asked permission of Pope Paschal to go himself, presided over a synod at Anse, attended by four other archbishops and nine bishops, at which the crusade and the enforcement of crusade vows were debated, and Paschal despatched two legates to France, but although these men held councils at Valence and at Poitiers, where there was an

¹³⁰ Cluny 5.59.

¹³¹ FC 134–5; BB 15; NF 356.

¹³² BB 16.

¹³³ Landulf the Younger, 'Historia Mediolanensis', 22.

¹³⁴ 'Historia de translatione' 255–6.

¹³⁵ RA Cont 307.

impressive assembly of eighty bishops and abbots, there are no descriptions of them preaching the cross.¹³⁶

Monks also acted as recruiting agents. Robert of Normandy was apparently persuaded to crusade by 'certain religious'¹³⁷ and it is clear that some communities, which will be described in a later chapter, were active centres of recruitment, although the only monks known by name to have preached the First Crusade were Abbot Peter of Maillezais¹³⁸ and perhaps Abbot Hugh of Cluny.¹³⁹ Outside the ranks of established churchmen in 1095–6, we know only of Peter the Hermit, who was active in Berry, northern France and Germany.¹⁴⁰ Berry and the Orléannais were not on Pope Urban's itinerary and although men and women from those regions could have travelled to Tours, Angers or Le Mans to hear him it may be that the response in them, which included men such as Geoffrey lord of Issoudon, of the dominant family of Déols,¹⁴¹ the lords of Châtillon and Aigurande, and probably Arnold II, the castellan of Vierzon,¹⁴² was due to Peter's efforts. There was a further striking case of commitment in 1100, when Eudes Arpin, the viscount of Bourges, sold his viscounty and his lordship of Dun to the king before leaving for the East.¹⁴³

Pope Urban's rhetoric, enveloped in theatre, was an appeal to the guts rather than to the head, the earliest in a line of similar displays, which stretched at least as far as the prodigious efforts of St John of Capistrano in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the old pope's itinerary was a clever propaganda exercise in which he deliberately played on the senses of an audience he knew well, packaging his message in terms that people would find appealing. The same emphasis on the dramatic characterized the preaching campaigns in France and Germany of Peter the Hermit, who carried with him a letter he claimed had been sent him from heaven, ordering all Christians to march to the liberation of

¹³⁶ Hugh of Flavigny 487–8, 491–4; St Maixent Chron 172.

¹³⁷ OV 5.26.

¹³⁸ BB 5.

¹³⁹ Sauxillanges 966–7 This document is very corrupt and looks like a forgery. See also Cluny 5.89. Robert of Arbrissel is sometimes referred to as a crusade preacher, but there is no good evidence for this; he seems to have been commissioned by Urban to preach a general Christian message.

¹⁴⁰ GN Gesta 142–3; AA 272, 274; OV 5.28.

¹⁴¹ See G.Devailly, *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1973), 375.

¹⁴² See the table in Devailly, *Le Berry*, 357.

¹⁴³ See Devailly, *Le Berry*, 382–4.

Jerusalem,¹⁴⁴ and in Lombardy of Anselm of Buis, who made use of a popular song, *Ultreia, ultreia*, to get his message across.¹⁴⁵

Theatrical Urban may have been, but nothing should be allowed to obscure the revolutionary nature of his proclamation of a penitential war-pilgrimage. His references to holy war were, as far as one can tell, as hyperbolic as were many of the more extreme statements of the Gregorian reformers, but his association of it and pilgrimage was emphatic and unprecedented. It is amazing that no protests from senior churchmen are recorded, even though figures like Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Canterbury, who was at Hugh of Lyons's synod at Anse, may well have had doubts. If the First Crusade had failed, there would surely have been criticism of so radical an initiative and the association of war with pilgrimage could have been dropped. But the enterprise was a triumph and those who took part were convinced that the only explanation for the victorious progress of an army so short of supplies and material, so badly led and so weighed down by non-combatants, was that God had intervened to help it physically. The liberation of Jerusalem confirmed for those at home as well that the crusade had really been a manifestation of God's will: 'The Lord has certainly revived his miracles of old', wrote Pope Paschal.¹⁴⁶

So potential criticism was bound to falter. It is notable that Sigebert of Gembloux did not mention the crusade at all when he wrote attacking the summons to penitential war against the opponents of reform made by Pope Paschal in a letter to Robert of Flanders, in which there was a reference to Robert's return from Jerusalem.¹⁴⁷ The eyewitness reporters of the crusade used of it phrases which until then had been customarily applied only to monks and the monastic profession — the knighthood of Christ, the way of the cross, the heavenly Jerusalem, spiritual warfare.¹⁴⁸ — and most of these were taken up and refined by better educated commentators, who stressed the miraculous nature of the crusade and the unique way its course had demonstrated divine approval: 'Apart from the mystery of the healing cross, what more marvellous deed has there been since the creation of the world than that which was achieved in

¹⁴⁴ 'Annalista Saxo' 728; Helmold of Bosau, 'Chronica Slavorum', 33–4.

¹⁴⁵ Landulf the Younger 22.

¹⁴⁶ Kb 178.

¹⁴⁷ Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Leodicensium epistola', 451–64.

¹⁴⁸ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 91–119.

modern times in this journey of *Jerosolimitani*?¹⁴⁹ These learned men, all monks, dwelt on the crusade's penitential and loving nature and seized on the idea that it paralleled monasticism. The crusaders, moved by love of God and their neighbour, renouncing wives, children and earthly possessions, and adopting temporary poverty and chastity, had gone into voluntary exile as brothers professed into a great military abbey on the move, following the way of the cross: one writer compared the liberation of Jerusalem to Joseph of Arimathea taking Christ down from the cross.¹⁵⁰ In the monastic commentaries of the first decade of the twelfth century the association of war and penance proposed by the papacy and confirmed in the experiences of the crusaders was given coherence and intellectual weight.¹⁵¹

Of Urban's successors, Paschal II and Calixtus II authorized crusades to the East, but there are no surviving references to them preaching. Of their legates, Bruno of Segni, who had been with Urban on his journey through France, did preach when he returned there with Bohemond of Taranto in 1106. According to Suger of St Denis, who heard him at Poitiers, he called on men to defend the Holy Sepulchre,¹⁵² but we have no more details than that and he was anyway overshadowed by his companion. Since leaving southern Italy in 1096 Bohemond had enhanced his reputation as the best general among the crusade leaders and as the first Latin ruler of Antioch; and he had spent nearly three years as a prisoner of the Turks. He opened his visit to France in a melodramatic fashion with an ostentatious pilgrimage to the shrine of St Léonard-de-Noblat, where he gave thanks for his deliverance from gaol; his experiences as a prisoner of the Muslims quickly became incorporated in St Leonard's *Miracula*.¹⁵³ He then embarked on a triumphal journey, lecturing about his adventures to large audiences. Many French nobles wanted him to be godfather to their children¹⁵⁴ and it was said that Henry I of England discouraged him from visiting his kingdom because he was worried that he might tempt away his best knights to the East.¹⁵⁵ His progress, in the company for some of the

¹⁴⁹ RR 723.

¹⁵⁰ BB 101.

¹⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 135–52.

¹⁵² Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 48. See also St Maixent Chron 178; HP 228.

¹⁵³ *Acta SS Novembris* 3.160–8, 177–82; WMGR 2.454.

¹⁵⁴ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 137.

¹⁵⁵ OV 6.68.

time of a pretender to the Byzantine throne, was marked by gifts of relics and silks to churches; he had stripped the treasury of Antioch on his departure.¹⁵⁶ There is an account of him speaking on a dais before the Lady altar in the cathedral of Chartres on the day of his marriage to the king of France's daughter. He began by telling the story of his adventures and in calling for a crusade to Jerusalem he also proposed an invasion of the Byzantine empire, promising rich pickings to those who would go with him.¹⁵⁷ Speeches of this sort were supplemented by the despatching of agents to regions he could not visit himself; although the king had prevented him from coming to England, his chaplain crossed the Channel on his behalf.¹⁵⁸ He may also have made use of the written word. A version of the anonymous account of the First Crusade, the *Gesta Francorum*, which had been written by someone in his contingent, may have been circulating France¹⁵⁹ and it is possible that a forged letter purporting to be from the Emperor Alexius to Count Robert I of Flanders, which suggested that the Greeks had become so desperate that they had been prepared to envisage Latin rule in Constantinople, was being publicized at the same time.¹⁶⁰

Bohemond's crusade ended disastrously and there was talk of ambition, greed and deceit.¹⁶¹ There was more censure after the recruiting drive of 1128 in England and Scotland of another unlikely crusade preacher, the lay brother and Templar master, Hugh of Payns: 'He said that a great war was afoot between Christians and the heathens. Then when they arrived there [in Palestine] it was nothing but lies — thus miserably were all the people afflicted.'¹⁶² But occasional criticism could not blight a general concern for the Christian custody of the Sepulchre and some preachers exploited the image of Jerusalem to lend its authority to other enterprises. In 1124, introducing an idea which was to become a theme in Reconquest

¹⁵⁶ RC 713–14.

¹⁵⁷ OV 6.70.

¹⁵⁸ *Quadripartitus* 161.

¹⁵⁹ But see R. Hill, introduction to GF, x note 3.

¹⁶⁰ Kb 130–6. Two scholars (E. Joranson, 'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', *American Historical Review* 55 (1949–50), 811–32; and M. de Waha, 'La lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert I le Frison', *Byzantion* 47 (1977), 113–25) have argued that the letter is a genuine one which has been retouched, rather than a total forgery. For a forged papal bull circulating at the time of the First Crusade, see Gieysztor, 'The Genesis of the Crusades', *passim*.

¹⁶¹ OV 6.68–72, 100–4; Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 44–50; WMGR 2.454; 'Chronicon Vindocinense seu de Aquaria' 171–2; 'Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites (Englische Analekten II)' 280–2; HP 228–9; BN 538.

¹⁶² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 194–5. See also 'Annales de Waverleia' 221; Robert of Torigni 113.

propaganda, Archbishop Diego Gelmirez of Compostela justified crusading in Spain on the grounds that the recovery of the peninsula was the key to a better route to the Sepulchre.

Just as the knights of Christ, the faithful sons of Holy Church, opened the way to Jerusalem with much labour and spilling of blood, so we should become knights of Christ and, after defeating his wicked enemies the Muslims, open the way to the same Sepulchre of the Lord through Spain, which is shorter and much less laborious.¹⁶³

The interest in the Sepulchre also manifested itself in the stream of pilgrims going to and returning from Jerusalem each year and it was reinforced by contacts within those family circles which had kin on both sides of the sea, by the official relations between the popes and the members of the new Latin hierarchies in the East and by the little extensions of Jerusalem which were establishing themselves everywhere in the European countryside, as estates were granted to religious institutions in Palestine and these set up dependencies in them, sometimes erecting round churches which echoed the shape of the Sepulchre rotunda. The Hospitallers of St John, who may have inherited some properties which had already been donated before the First Crusade to the hospital in Jerusalem, were joined by the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the monks of St Mary of the Latins and St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Templars. The presence in the West of these representatives of the guardians of the holy places probably had an effect on recruitment, although it is hard to be precise. But far more important, influencing not only decisions to take part but also the resources which would be at a crusader's disposal, were the attitudes to be found within the nexuses of relationships created by lordship and above all by blood and marriage.

¹⁶³ *Historia Compostellana* 379.

Chapter 4— Recruitment, Lordship and Family

Although one could take the cross semi-privately,¹ the norm was to assume it at a large, noisy, hysterical assembly. The earliest of the public cross-takings, in the field outside Clermont on 27 November 1095, immediately followed Pope Urban's proclamation of war,² and during his preaching tour there were others presided over by him: perhaps at Le Mans³ and certainly at Tours,⁴ where yet another was to be held in June 1128.⁵ Many obviously had to take place without him: at Rouen, the archbishop of which had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem thirty-eight years before — it was followed by a riot⁶ — and at Etampes,⁷ possibly at Verdun,⁸ and at the siege of Amalfi, where Bohemond of Taranto, 'moved by the Holy Spirit, ordered the most valuable cloak he had with him to be completely cut up and made into crosses at once, and most of the knights who were at the siege began enthusiastically to join him'.⁹

In none of the early descriptions of cross-taking, or in other references to them, are the pilgrimage symbols, the purse and staff, mentioned,¹⁰ just as crosses are never mentioned when the reception of the symbols is recorded, at least until 1146 when the Breton crusader Bardoul Le Large may have taken cross, purse and staff together.¹¹ As late as 1248 John of Joinville received the symbols of pilgrimage, and apparently them alone, from the abbot of Cheminon.¹² Crosses and

¹ See Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici*, 33; Cluny 5.89.

² RR 729–31; BB 15–16 See also Kb 164–5; GF 2; FC 140–1.

³ See OV 5.228–30.

⁴ GAD 101, although note here the closeness of the language to that of BB 16.

⁵ CGCA 161; Cart Temp 9.

⁶ GM Vita 246. For the archbishop's pilgrimage, see OV 2.68–72, 254.

⁷ Morigny 40.

⁸ In 1100. Laurence of Liège, 'Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium' 497.

⁹ GF 7.

¹⁰ For example see, for the crusade of 1107, 'The Council of Troyes', 93; and for that of 1120, St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847) 128; St Julien de Tours 87.

¹¹ 'suscepta cruce et habita'. St Sulpice-la-Forêt 35.350.

¹² John of Joinville, *La vie de Saint Louis*, 108.

symbols, therefore, were received separately and the usual course of events was probably that described by a monk of St Denis, Eudes of Deuil, in his account of the preparations of King Louis VII of France for the crusade of 1147. Eudes wrote of two distinct ceremonies for the taking of the cross and the granting of the purse and staff, separated in time and space. The king took the cross on 31 March 1146 at Vézelay. It looks as though there was a semi-private cross-taking for him and the greater nobles, followed immediately by a public assembly, the success of which was assured by the sight of the king wearing his cloth cross, which had been sent by the pope, when he joined the preacher, Bernard of Clairvaux, on a platform. So great was the enthusiasm at the public meeting that a stock of made-up crosses ran out and Bernard had to tear his habit into strips to provide additional ones; perhaps he had heard the story of Bohemond at Amalfi fifty years before and was deliberately imitating him for effect. Over a year later, on 11 June 1147 at St Denis, Louis received from the pope in person a pilgrim's purse and the oriflamme, the sacred battle-standard of the French crown which was presumably presented to him in place of a staff.¹³ It cannot have been the case, therefore, that the rite for the taking of the cross developed out of the ceremony for blessing the purse and staff, the symbols of pilgrimage, or that there was at first little distinction made between pilgrims and crusaders and their vows.¹⁴ It should be remembered that many eleventh-century pilgrims would not have made vows at all; those, for instance, who were performing formal penances would have had these imposed on them by their confessors. We have been misled by the fact that the ceremonies had been conflated by the time they are to be found in the pontificals and manuals, which survive only from the third quarter of the twelfth century onwards.

It seems that after nobles and knights had taken the cross, they would make private arrangements to receive the purse and staff, and perhaps also the blessing which appears in the later rites,¹⁵ from a local bishop, abbot or prior: Herbert II of Thouars wished to receive the 'dress of pilgrimage' from the bishop of Poitiers in 1101.¹⁶ It was

¹³ Eudes of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, 8–10, 16–18. For later pilgrim/crusader rites, in which the reception of the purse and staff was accompanied by blessings, see J. A. Brundage, 'Cruce Signari: the Rite for Taking the Cross in England', *Traditio* 22 (1966), 297–310.

¹⁴ Brundage, 'Cruce Signari', 289–310 *passim*; J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, 119–20.

¹⁵ Brundage, 'Cruce Signari', 297–310; C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle* (Vatican City, 1963–72), 2.227–9, 362.

¹⁶ Chaise-le-Vicomte 6.

perhaps at this time that the recruits made confession and had the penance they had already voluntarily agreed to undergo formally imposed on them; the abbot of Lérins 'enjoined the Jerusalem journey on him as a penance' when he gave Fulk Doon of Châteaurenard a napkin and staff in May 1096.¹⁷ The reception of purse and staff was sometimes associated with a financial arrangement with, or an endowment for, the religious community concerned. In this the crusaders were probably following ancient custom — in 1036 a pilgrim to Rome had received his scrip from the abbot of Bèze at the same time as he had renounced claims he had made against the abbey¹⁸ — as well as complying in their own way with an instruction issued by Urban that those who had taken the cross should seek a blessing from their parish priests.¹⁹

The reasons for volunteering to crusade must have been many: the desire of a repentant sinner, terrified of the prospect of hell, for an adequate penitential exercise — Berengar Raymond II of Barcelona had murdered his brother²⁰ and Lagman of Man had put his brother's eyes out;²¹ or concern for a father who had died and, probably suffering purgatorial torments, needed intercession — this seems to have motivated Herbert of Thouars in 1101²² or fear of a portent in nature, like the lunar eclipse which drove the future King Conrad III of Germany into taking the cross in 1124;²³ or rage, like that probably felt by Arnulf of Hesdin in 1096, who had been unjustly accused of treason against King William II of England;²⁴ or a private reaction to tragedy, as with Hugh of Ste Maure-de-Touraine, who seems to have been at least partly driven by grief following the murder of two of his sons 'in secret and by treachery'. Hugh had accepted an offer from the monks of Noyers to have them buried in their churchyard. He endowed the community with the church at Ste Maure and when the papal legate, the bishop of Angoulême, visited Noyers he prevailed upon him to pray over his sons' tombs and to absolve them from their sins on papal authority. It was shortly after this that he decided 'to go to Jerusalem', probably on the crusade of 1120.²⁵ But the geography and genealogy of recruitment suggest that two factors, lordship and family, which were

¹⁷ Lérins 312.

¹⁸ Bèze Liber 562.

¹⁹ Archbishop Hugh of Lyons sought permission from Pope Paschal II. Hugh of Flavigny 487.

²⁰ *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* 7, 37.

²¹ *Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Isles* 8, 62.

²² Chaise-le-Vicomte 6.

²³ Ekk C 262.

²⁴ 'Chronica monasterii de Hida juxta Wintoniam' 301–2.

²⁵ Noyers 329–32.

linked to one another and dominated society around 1100, especially preconditioned men and women to respond positively to the preaching of the cross.

Crusading shared with marriage and monastic profession the feature that promises freely entered into were asked of those involved. In theory the Church was bound to maintain the voluntary nature of such vows, although it was hard to expect society to respect an independence of thought and action from its members which was alien to them. In an anarchic and insecure world, men and women, grouped in the nexuses provided by lordship and kinship, could not act effectively without mutual dependence, internal discipline (however undisciplined they might be when facing others) and cooperation. It was, for example, unusual for an individual to resist a collective decision by the kindred on marriage and when a woman like Christina of Markyate did so she would be faced with incomprehension or worse; it is arguable that in Christina's case she only got support from some churchmen because she wanted to become a solitary contemplative, perhaps the one area of life in which individualism was generally admired.²⁶ It was easier to make relatively free choices in religion than in marriage. Progressive churchmen disapproved of the practice of handing over children as oblates to religious houses and there are many examples of adults freely deciding to embark on particular forms of monasticism; indeed their phenomenal growth in the period was founded partly on the ability of masters of the religious life to attract disciples. Even so, few child-oblates could stand up to a family decision to put them into a religious community, although there is evidence from the Limousin for one independently-minded boy making things so difficult for the monks that he nearly succeeded in doing so.²⁷

Crusading, like monasticism, was characterized by both free and forced commitments. While some dependants, even very distinguished ones, were forbidden to join because they were needed at home, others must have been pressurized into taking the cross, although it is certain that many accompanied their lord willingly. Some years before the First Crusade a man called Stabelo, the chamberlain of Godfrey of Bouillon and later a companion of Godfrey's on crusade, dreamt that he saw his lord climbing a golden stairway which stretched from earth to heaven, accompanied by

²⁶ Christina of Markyate, *Life, passim*.

²⁷ Tulle 65.

another member of his household called Ruthard, who was carrying a lamp. The lamp went out and Ruthard scampered down in terror, leaving Godfrey alone. Stabelo seized the lamp, relit it, and joined Godfrey on the stairs. Together they reached a hall of heaven where a delicious meal was laid for them. In the past Godfrey had often confided to his familiars his longing to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and Stabelo's dream came to be interpreted as a prediction of the course of the crusade and of Godfrey's election as ruler of Jerusalem. Its effect on Stabelo would have been to reinforce the sense of loyalty he was conditioned to feel anyway.²⁸

Of course there must have been many spontaneous decisions to join crusades which came as unpleasant surprises to the lords and kindred concerned, but the concentrations I have found in regions where a leading magnate was committed and in certain families suggests that there was in these a prevailing ethos which helped to trigger the original decision of the volunteer and then a collective agreement to help him in his preparations. The fact is that without the support of the groups at home with which crusaders were associated few promises to undertake something so demanding and expensive could have been fulfilled.

Lordship

In the autumn of 1096 Count Robert of Flanders, on an early stage of his march to the East, reached the abbey of St Thierry, north-west of Rheims, to be greeted by a procession of monks. He must have lodged there, with his army pavilioned around. In an agreement he made with the abbey he renounced his claims to property given to the monks by his sister and in exchange was promised a share in the merits of the community's prayers and alms-giving. His charter was witnessed by Ebles of Roucy, the head of the most important local family, a *fidelis beati Petri* who had fought in Spain and must have been there to see him off, and by some of his companions on the march: his seneschal, his butler, two of his chaplains, one of the two castellans of Lille who were crusading, and the lords of Aalst and Ardres.²⁹ When Robert I Burgundio of Sablé reached Marmoutier a year later he was accompanied by a chaplain and nine other men,

²⁸ AA 481–2.

²⁹ Flanders 66–7. For Ebles of Roucy, see M. Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne v.950–v.1150* (Nancy, 1977), 253–7; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 81–2.

most of whom seem to have been knights; one of them, Ardouin of Vione, was definitely going with him to the East.³⁰ The companions of a lord would have been selected after thought and discussion, because an important consideration for him, whether he was a magnate or a petty landowner, was the choice of his household for what was certain to be a long campaign. Established household conventions, or those governing clientage or vassalage, could prevail even in the chaos of the crusade; when Gerard of Buc, one of the castellans of Lille, died in Syria, Robert of Flanders behaved in exactly the way he would have done at home by demanding, and getting, his possessions.³¹ Traditions of loyalty could lead to extra-ordinary demonstrations of it from subordinates. In January 1103 Raymond of St Gilles, now the 'head and prince' of what he called 'a tiny Christian force' at Tripoli in Lebanon, issued a charter which was witnessed by a bevy of men from his home domains, including three, his chaplain Herbert of Chaise-Dieu, William Hugh of Monteil and William Peyre of Cunlhat, who had been close to him since he had left western Europe seven years before.³²

The decisions of a lord on this matter were important for the crusade as a whole, since only he could screen out psychopaths and other undisciplined individuals, but the make-up of his following was something over which he could lose control. In the anarchic conditions of a crusade knights could desert him for another patron, who could provide the necessities for them better than he could, or his entourage could be swollen by men whose service he was able to subsidize. During the siege of Jerusalem Hugh II of St Pol was employing knights for pay;³³ these men could have attached themselves to him at any time during the course of the expedition. Allegiances were to shift so much during a campaign of this sort that it is usually impossible to establish the composition of households at the time of departure and anyway we have only fragments of information about them. Like Robert of Flanders, Alan Fergent of Brittany and Godfrey of Bouillon were accompanied by their seneschals,³⁴ and Godfrey had at least one other member from his ducal household in Lorraine with him.³⁵ Even minor lords seem to have taken chaplains along, and the magnates had several: Robert of

³⁰ Marmoutier (Manceau) 89; and see 91.

³¹ 'Narratio quomodo reliquiae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicinenses pervenerunt' 251.

³² St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151–3.

³³ AA 463.

³⁴ Mainfinit and Baldric.

³⁵ Stabelo.

Flanders had at least three;³⁶ Stephen of Blois had at least two;³⁷ and so perhaps had Robert of Normandy.³⁸ These priests, like most clerics willing to serve in the households of the great, were not generally of a high calibre.³⁹ Senior churchmen, who often travelled in the companies of the more important lords, also had their own chaplains: Adhémar of Monteil appears to have had two⁴⁰ and Gerard, the abbot of Schaffhausen, possibly had one.⁴¹

Since some of the lords had their hunting birds and dogs with them,⁴² they must have taken their huntsmen. A huntsman called Everard Venator was on the First Crusade, while a William Venator, a subject of Juhel of Mayenne, took the cross for the crusade of 1120. The practice of taking hunting animals was condemned by Pope Eugenius III when he proclaimed the crusade of 1147,⁴³ but there was some sense in a practice which could provide supplementary rations. Two servants taking part in the First Crusade — Mala-Corona and Peter Bartholomew, who were employed by Bohemond of Taranto and William Peyre of Cunnlat respectively — are named in the sources. There must also have been farriers, grooms, squires and armourers; weapons would only remain effective if they were properly oiled and stored when not in use and one story current after the First Crusade, of the Muslims' scorn at a Christian peasant's rusty weapons,⁴⁴ carries with it the implication that the knights' arms were being kept rust-free and serviceable. There were doctors in the army in Asia Minor in 1097 and in Palestine in 1102,⁴⁵ although it is not clear whether these were freelance or were attached to households. If they had been trained in the fashionable Salernitan method, which stressed the importance to recovery of quiet, warmth, cleanliness and a wholesome diet, they would have found conditions impossible in an army which had often to keep moving come what may and in which there were endemic food-shortages.

A crusading lord's estimate of his needs could well have led him to order some of his subordinates to take the cross as his companions-in-arms and servants, but it is obvious that the relationship between

³⁶ Sannardus, Cono and Rainer.

³⁷ Alexander and Fulcher of Chartres.

³⁸ Arnulf of Chocques and perhaps Robert of Rouen. It was said that Rigaud IV of Tournemire had been accompanied by an almoner. St Flour ccvii.

³⁹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 79–86.

⁴⁰ Bernard of Valence and perhaps Bertrand of Bas, who was a canon of Le Puy.

⁴¹ Zaizolfus.

⁴² See AA 340–1.

⁴³ Eugenius III, 'Quantum praedecessores', 304.

⁴⁴ GN Gesta 191.

⁴⁵ AA 342; Chaise-le-Vicomte 8.

the greatest magnates and their subjects could affect recruitment whether the magnates concerned were going or not. Rainald III of Château-Gontier sought permission from Count Fulk IV of Anjou before he crusaded in 1097 and was granted it;⁴⁶ conversely Archbishop Gerard of York was prevented by King Henry I of England from joining the crusade of 1107.⁴⁷ The zeal of a great lord could encourage the richer of his subjects to join him, with knock-on effects down the social scale, especially were he and they to follow Pope Urban's injunction to subsidize the less well-off. In the Chartrain in 1096, where the count, Stephen of Blois, was an enthusiast, the entire ruling class of Chartres took the cross⁴⁸ — the vidame and his brother, and the viscount — together with the provost and perhaps two canons of the cathedral, the castellans of Mondoubleau, Fréteval, Gallardon and Beaugency, and the prévot of Blois, another of Stephen's cities. In 1120 Count Fulk V of Anjou led a force to the East which included the bishop of Angers, the lords of Mayenne and Le Plessis-Macé, and probably the castellan of Ste Maure-de-Touraine.⁴⁹ Great lords did not have to go themselves to foster recruitment. Count Fulk IV of Anjou did not commit himself, but he must have encouraged his vassals to do so. When he followed the pope to Tours in the spring of 1096 he was accompanied by some of them, including Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire, the co-heir of Amboise, and Aimery of Courron, a member of his household who was married to Hugh's cousin and co-heiress. Hugh and Aimery took the cross at the ceremony at Marmoutier presided over by the pope himself.⁵⁰ The Angevin crusaders, who left in several different contingents, also included the castellan of Matheflon and the lords of Segré (Rainald of Château-Gontier, whom we have already seen had Fulk's 'licence'), Sablé and probably Clervaux.

An example of the positive effect even a non-participating lord could have is provided by the number of recruits to the First Crusade from the region around Paris. They included the king's brother, Hugh the Great of Vermandois, the constable and the seneschal, Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin and Gilbert Payen of Garlande, the viscount of Melun and the lords of Montlhéry and Boissy-sans-Avoir.

⁴⁶ CGCA 'Additamenta' 149.

⁴⁷ *Quadripartitus* 161–2.

⁴⁸ For the nobles in the region, see A. Chédeville, *Chartres et ses campagnes (XIe–XIIIe s.)* (Paris, 1973), 251–330.

⁴⁹ Noyers 329–32. For the castellans in the region, see Anjou (Guillot) 1.299–352, 456–68.

⁵⁰ GAD 100–1.

Hugh deserted the crusade, but, like Stephen of Blois, he went again in 1101, accompanied by the bishop of Paris, the count of Rochefort, and probably the lord of Trie-Château and the vicar of Pontoise. Peter the Hermit must have passed through the district on his preaching tour — Walter Sansavoir, who led one of the early armies, came from there — but towns such as Le Mans and Vendôme which had been on Pope Urban's itinerary were not too distant and men could have ridden over to hear the pope in person.

On the other hand, the influence of the king himself should not be underestimated. It is true that Philip never took the cross, that he was to benefit through the purchase of important honours from Everard III of Le Puiset and Eudes Arpin of Bourges⁵¹ and that he was in trouble with the pope. In 1092 he had repudiated his wife, Bertha of Frisia, and had run off with Bertrada of Montfort-l'Amaury, Fulk of Anjou's wife. The couple had been bigamously married by the bishop of Senlis in the presence of all the bishops of the royal demesne and apparently with the approval of the archbishop of Rheims and the papal legate. But Bishop Ivo of Chartres, the influential reformer and canonist, had openly opposed the wedding which he had refused to attend, had withheld service from the king and had fled to the pope. After Bertha of Frisia's death, Philip had summoned to Rheims as many bishops as he could to confirm his second marriage, but a council in Autun in 1094 under the chairmanship of another papal legate, Hugh of Lyons, had quashed the proceedings at Rheims and had excommunicated the king, a judgement which was confirmed by the Council of Clermont.⁵² Philip met Hugh of Lyons, Adhémar of Monteil and Eudes of Burgundy at Mozac, just north of Clermont, shortly before the council was convened⁵³ and negotiations were taking place throughout Pope Urban's journey through France. While Urban was presiding over the Council of Nîmes in July 1096 he was told that Philip had repented and would give Bertrada up. Meanwhile Hugh the Great of Vermandois had decided to lead a contingent to the East within weeks of the council of Clermont, if not even before it, since a council-of-war, at which the king himself was present, was held in Paris as early as 11 February 1096.⁵⁴ The adhesion of Hugh

⁵¹ Morigny 11; OV 5.324.

⁵² Duby, *The Knight*, 4–18.

⁵³ A. Fliche 'Urbain II et la croisade', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 13 (1927), 300.

⁵⁴ GN Gesta 149.

the Great and the interest of the king must have been partly responsible for the large number of recruits from the region

Conversely, men and women could be driven into taking the cross through fear of their lord or because they wanted to secure their futures through close association with another one. In 1096 King William II of England was not openly hostile to the First Crusade, but, although he raised an enormous sum of money to hold the duchy of his brother in pledge, he does not seem to have been sympathetic. There was some enthusiasm in England, giving rise to a worried letter from Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, expressing concern about Abbot Hamo of Cerne, who had encouraged his monks to join the enterprise, had sent one young man abroad and had bought a ship to carry him and his companions. Anselm asked the bishop of Salisbury to take steps to prevent monks in his diocese going and he wanted him to transmit these instructions to the bishops of Exeter, Bath and Worcester as well.⁵⁵ There were men from England in a large army which marched into the Rhineland in the spring of 1096 and took part in the persecution of the Jews there,⁵⁶ but most of the crusaders whose names are known left later in the year in the following of established leaders and were nearly all Anglo-French. Some had got on reasonably well with the king. They included Ivo of Grandmesnil, who had supported an uprising of Robert of Normandy's against William I in the late 1070s but had probably succeeded to his father's sheriffdom of Leicester,⁵⁷ Payen Peverel, whose brother was a magnate, and probably William of Percy, who became lord of a stretch of the Jabal Sumaq in Syria before dying near Jerusalem. There was also Edgar Atheling, the 'heir' to the Anglo-Saxon throne, who had lived an extraordinarily unsettled life since 1066: in Scotland, where his sister was queen; in England and Normandy; and in Apulia, for which he had left in 1086 with 200 knights, although he had soon returned. He had had a changeable, but at times good, relationship with the king. In 1095 he had probably been in the army with which William had crushed the rebellion of Robert of Mowbray in Northumberland. In 1097 he commanded another army recruited in England, which defeated King Donald of Scotland and established his nephew on the Scottish

⁵⁵ Anselm of Canterbury, 'Epistolae', 4.85–6.

⁵⁶ AA 291. See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* 173–4.

⁵⁷ F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 34, 188, 279, 361. He was to be exiled by Henry I in 1102. *Ibid.* 366 note.

throne as an English vassal.⁵⁸ After this he took the cross and was the leading figure in a fleet which brought a large force of English and northern European crusaders directly to Syria in 1098.⁵⁹ The name survives of one member of his household, a knight called Robert son of Godwin, who held lands in Lothian, accompanied Edgar to the East and died there in 1101. Presumably he was a tenant in an honour granted to Edgar by his brother-in-law or by his nephew.⁶⁰

But there was also a significant contribution to the Norman contingent in 1096 by individuals who were in trouble with the king of England. The man behind a rebellion engineered by Robert of Normandy against William in 1088 had been their uncle, Bishop Eudes (Odo) of Bayeux. The king had never forgiven him and he went on crusade with Robert because, according to one contemporary, he preferred not to stay in Normandy with the prospect of William taking it over. He was to die in Sicily.⁶¹ One might add that associated with Robert in the rebellion of 1088 had been Eustace III of Boulogne, who had inherited vast English possessions, the Honour of Boulogne, concentrated particularly in Essex and Hertfordshire. Eustace, who had independent command on the crusade, had probably been dispossessed of his English honour, which does not seem to have been returned to him until 1101.⁶²

Also crusading in Robert of Normandy's contingent was a Breton lord, Ralph I of Gaël, his wife Emma of Hereford and one of their sons called Alan. In c.1069 Ralph had inherited the earldom of Norfolk from his father, who had served as Staller at the court of Edward the Confessor and had given his allegiance to William the Conqueror. In 1075 Ralph had rebelled in association with Earl Roger of Hereford, whose sister Emma he married: the revolt had been planned at their wedding feast at Exning, near Newmarket. It had been crushed — Emma herself had unsuccessfully defended the castle of Norwich — but Ralph, who may have been one of those engineering a Scandinavian invasion of England at that time, got away. His earldom had been forfeited and in 1076 William I had entered Brittany to seize him but had been forced to retire when the king of France intervened.⁶³ More recent exiles were Philip the

⁵⁸ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 264–6, 348, 353, 371.

⁵⁹ WMGR 2.310; OV 5.270–2. See Runciman, *A History*, 1.227, 255.

⁶⁰ See R. L. G. Ritchie, *The Normans in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1954), 95, 97–8.

⁶¹ OV 4.118; 5.34, 208–10. See GN Gesta 232–3.

⁶² Barlow, *William Rufus*, 90–1; Mayer, *Mélanges*, 16–17.

⁶³ Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, 231–4.

Grammarians of Montgomery, Arnulf of Hesdin and Stephen of Aumale. Philip was the son of Roger II of Montgomery, the earl of Shrewsbury, and Mabel of Bellême. He had been implicated in Robert of Mowbray's rebellion of 1095, as had been Arnulf, who was a major landowner and land improver, a tenant-in-chief in ten counties, and a man of marked piety.⁶⁴ Philip was sentenced to imprisonment but fled.⁶⁵ Arnulf's vassal won a judicial duel on his behalf, but he nevertheless left, to die, like Philip, on the crusade.⁶⁶ Stephen of Aumale had been involved, perhaps passively, in the plot — one idea of the conspirators had been to place him on the throne — but he avoided sentence.⁶⁷

The attachment to Robert of Normandy of men exiled from England or in one way or another at odds with the king is understandable. Since Robert had pledged his duchy to William, it would have been safer for them to travel with him far away, as Eudes of Bayeux recognized. And they probably looked to him for patronage and protection in the future as a result of a shared commitment and common experiences. Similar thoughts may have moved another group of Anglo-French, who normally lived on the continent but had close relations in England: Alan, the seneschal of the archbishopric of Dol and the brother of Flaald, the progenitor of the house of Stewart;⁶⁸ Ilger Bigod, who must have been related to Roger Bigod, the sheriff of Norfolk who himself wanted to pilgrimage to Jerusalem eight years later;⁶⁹ William of Bayeux, the great-nephew of Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester; William of Ferrières, the son of Henry of Ferrières, castellan of Tutbury and sheriff of Derbyshire; and probably Ralph of Montpinçon, the son of Ralph I of Montpinçon, the steward of England.⁷⁰ Perhaps their families were anxious to keep feet in both camps and this was a defensible way of doing so.

Among the Anglo-French ties of blood were strong. Stephen of Aumale was Robert of Normandy's first cousin. Ivo of Grandmesnil's sister was the wife of Ralph of Montpinçon's brother; and Ivo's brother Robert III was married to William of Bayeux's sister. Alan

⁶⁴ R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959), 49–50, 56n, 57, 64, 67, 69–70, 72, 85, 210–12.

⁶⁵ Florence of Worcester 2. 39; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 347, 358, 366.

⁶⁶ 'Chronica monasterii de Hida' 301–2; Barlow, *William Rufus*, 347, 358.

⁶⁷ Barlow, *William Rufus*, 347–8, 358.

⁶⁸ J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (London, 1901), 120–9.

⁶⁹ Geoffrey, 'Historia coenobii Thetfordensis', 151.

⁷⁰ See OV 3.164–6.

the seneschal of Dol's nephew had married (or was yet to marry) Arnulf of Hesdin's daughter.⁷¹ Eustace of Boulogne's brother Baldwin, admittedly in another contingent, crusaded in the company of his wife Godehilde of Tosny, a first cousin of Emma of Hereford. These family ties are only to be expected in a close-knit and relatively small aristocracy, but they are paralleled everywhere and they had an influence on motivation even more potent than that of lordship; indeed the commitment of many magnates was itself founded on family predispositions.

Family

A feature of recruitment to the First Crusade — and to crusading in general until at least the middle of the twelfth century — was the way many of those who took the cross were clustered into certain families. There has been debate how far late eleventh- and twelfth-century families were extended and it has been pointed out that, as far as property was concerned, rights and obligations tended to involve the closely related, even if the group of individuals recognized as kindred could assume many different forms, expanding and contracting according to circumstances.⁷² In the context of crusading, it seems to have been expanded, but even taking a narrow view of family relationships, confined to brothers, fathers and sons, the concentrations of crusading relations are striking. In the Limousin they are to be found in castellan and knightly families, many already, or soon to be, related: three from Bernard of Bré⁷³ and probably from Durnais,⁷⁴ and two each from Le Breuil,⁷⁵ La Chèze⁷⁶ Las Gaydias,⁷⁷ Les Murs⁷⁸ and probably from La Rivière,⁷⁹ Lastours⁸⁰ and La Vue.⁸¹ Among those from elsewhere in the kingdom of France, Count Baldwin I of Guines in Flanders crusaded with his four sons.⁸² So did five members of the family of Poissy in the Ile-de-France⁸³ and three

⁷¹ Round, *Studies*, 128.

⁷² S. D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France* (Chapel Hill and London, 1988), 124–9.

⁷³ Aimery Bernard, and Bernard II and Guy of Bré.

⁷⁴ Aimery I, Aimery II and Bernard Durnais.

⁷⁵ Jordan and William of Le Breuil.

⁷⁶ Boso and Rainald of La Chèze.

⁷⁷ Adhémar and G. of Las Gaydias.

⁷⁸ Josbert and William of Les Murs.

⁷⁹ Bego and probably Itier of La Rivière.

⁸⁰ Gouffier and probably Guy III of Lastours.

⁸¹ Probably Peter and Itier of La Vue.

⁸² Fulk, Guy, Hugh and Manasses Robert of Guines.

⁸³ Robert of Paris, and Simon, Walter II, Walter Sansavoir and William of Poissy.

each of those of the counts of Roussillon⁸⁴ and the lords of Toucy in Burgundy,⁸⁵ Gaël in Brittany,⁸⁶ Grandmesnil in Normandy (and England)⁸⁷ and Tudebode in Poitou.⁸⁸ From the empire came Cono of Montaigu with two sons,⁸⁹ three members of the family of the counts of Burgundy⁹⁰ and three of the family of the viscounts of Marseilles.⁹¹ I have records of over forty other families in each of which at least two members took the cross for the First Crusade.

The fact that crusading interested only a minority among those armsbearers qualified to go gives these clusters even more significance and suggests that certain families were collectively predisposed to respond favourably to the summons to take the cross. Some of them are known to have customarily venerated particular religious images or saints and I have already drawn attention to the traditions of devotion to the cross in the families of the counts of Cornouaille and Metz, both of which bred early recruits. The Polignacs, who provided three first crusaders,⁹² had a long-standing devotion to the Greek military saint and patron of early crusaders, George, whom they had confused with another George, a local missionary who had been originally venerated in their district.⁹³ The family of Thouars, which sent two crusaders,⁹⁴ had a devotion to St Nicholas, another saint associated with the East, to whom their foundation of Chaisele-Vicomte was dedicated.

Other traditions which might incline a family to crusading — such as those of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, benefactions to Cluny and support for the reform papacy — can be traced in the comital house of Burgundy. Of Count William Tête-Hardi's six sons, Rainald II, Stephen I and Hugh were on the First Crusade, and Guy, as Pope Calixtus II, proclaimed the crusade of 1120–4. Of William's four daughters, three were married before 1095 to men who were to become first crusaders: Clemency to Robert of Flanders, Gisela to

⁸⁴ Ermengald, Geoffrey III and Gerard of Roussillon.

⁸⁵ Hugh, Itier I and Norgeot I of Toucy.

⁸⁶ Ralph I of Gaël, his wife Emma of Hereford and Alan of Gaël.

⁸⁷ Aubrey, Ivo and William of Grandmesnil.

⁸⁸ Arnald, Arvedus and Peter Tudebode.

⁸⁹ Gozelo and Lambert of Montaigu.

⁹⁰ Rainald II, Stephen I and Hugh of Burgundy.

⁹¹ Achard and Bertrand of Marseilles, and Fulk of Solliès.

⁹² Heraclius I of Polignac, and Peter and Pons II of Fay.

⁹³ Polignac 1.1–20. See also C. Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIIIe au XIe siècle* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987), 232, 267.

⁹⁴ Geoffrey III and Herbert II of Thouars.

Humbert II of Savoy (although he did not take part in the end) and Sibyl to Eudes of Burgundy. The fourth daughter, Ermintrude, was the mother of a first crusader, Louis of Mousson, as indeed was Sibyl, whose daughter Florina accompanied her husband Sven of Denmark to the East. So the contribution of the family to the First Crusade was immense. William Tête-Hardi's mother was Adelaide of Normandy, whose brother Duke Robert I had made the ostentatious pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1035. William's grandfather, Count Eudes William, had been a benefactor of Cluny and had established a tradition within the family of support for Cluniac monasticism, with William's cousin Guy entering the community. William himself had been a *fidelis beati Petri*.⁹⁵

Another family, this time in the Limousin, demonstrates the importance of some of these connections. The Bernards of Bré, as we have seen, sent three men on the First Crusade. At least one of the kin, Aimoin Bernard, had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem beforehand⁹⁶ and it has been shown that the family had been instrumental in the reform of the abbey of Vigéois, of which they had probably been lay abbots. After a disastrous fire, which had weakened the abbey's resistance to despoilers, it was put in the charge of the Cluniac community of St Martial de Limoges in 1082. The Bernards remained active supporters and Vigéois was to figure prominently in the will of Guy of Bré, drawn up while he lay dying in Syria.⁹⁷

The customary veneration of certain saints, earlier pilgrimaging to Jerusalem, a history of benefactions to the abbey of Cluny and its daughters, and support for the papal programme of reform could each have played a part in creating a family ethos which would be responsive, but they did not necessarily do so. Many families with a marked devotional outlook did not generate early crusaders. While an ancestor or relation in the paternal line who had pilgrimaged to Jerusalem could also have been recalled by first crusaders from the families of Born,⁹⁸ Chalon-sur-Saône,⁹⁹ Fézensac,¹⁰⁰ Flanders,¹⁰¹ Limoges,¹⁰² Luxembourg,¹⁰³ Malemort,¹⁰⁴ Normandy,¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵ Riley-Smith, 'Family Traditions', 102–3.

⁹⁶ He went in 1088. Aureil 174; Tulle 255.

⁹⁷ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 274–80.

⁹⁸ William of Born 1084 × 91.

⁹⁹ Hugh I of Chalon-sur-Saône 1036.

¹⁰⁰ Aimery II Forton of Fezensac 1090.

¹⁰¹ Robert I of Flanders 1085.

¹⁰² Hilduin and Guy I of Limoges 1000; Adhémar II of Limoges c.1090.

¹⁰³ Conrad of Luxembourg 1086.

¹⁰⁴ Josbert of Malemort 1010.

¹⁰⁵ Robert I of Normandy 1035; Nicholas of Normandy 1091. Duke Richard II had been a benefactor of the Holy Sepulchre and backer of pilgrimages.

Turenne,¹⁰⁶ and possibly Beaugency¹⁰⁷ and Le Puiset,¹⁰⁸ and in the maternal line by crusaders from the families of Aalst¹⁰⁹ and Boulogne,¹¹⁰ many descendants of eleventh-century pilgrims did not take the cross. Crusaders with ancestors who had founded satellites of Cluny are to be found in the royal house of France¹¹¹ and in the families of Béziers,¹¹² Chalon-sur-Saône,¹¹³ Montlhéry,¹¹⁴ Mortagne¹¹⁵ and Poitou-Aquitaine,¹¹⁶ but Cluniac monasticism was so fashionable that it is surprising that there are not more examples. Most of the *fideles beati Petri*, those committed supporters of reform who have been already described, would have been hard put to explain the finer points of papal policy, but one cannot avoid the conclusion that at some, probably unconscious, level their commitment was intellectual preparation for the summons to crusade in 1095, because five of them were to take the cross,¹¹⁷ as did the children of eleven,¹¹⁸ the close relations of three¹¹⁹ and the sons-in-law of two.¹²⁰ But some, like Ebles of Roucy, did not respond in 1096 (although Ebles came to Rheims to see the Flemish contingent off and his daughter went in 1107) and one also finds those who were indifferent or hostile to reform playing prominent rôles in early crusading. Godfrey of Bouillon and his brothers were lukewarm about the new forces in the Church, and Godfrey, who had been engaged in a long struggle with Mathilda of Tuscany over his possessions, to which she as his uncle's widow had claims, had served the emperor Henry IV loyally in his wars against the forces of radical reform in Italy.¹²¹ The most

¹⁰⁶ Boso I of Turenne 1091.

¹⁰⁷ Lancelin of Beaugency's establishment of a church of the Holy Sepulchre at Beaugency suggests that he had made the pilgrimage.

¹⁰⁸ Everard II 1073.

¹⁰⁹ Conrad of Luxembourg 1086.

¹¹⁰ Frederick II of Upper Lorraine c.1000.

¹¹¹ The priory of St Martin des Champs de Paris.

¹¹² The abbey of Lézat.

¹¹³ The priory of St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône.

¹¹⁴ The priory of Longpont- sous-Montlhéry.

¹¹⁵ The abbey of Nogent-le-Rotrou.

¹¹⁶ The abbey of Montierneuf de Poitiers, the priory of Sauxillanges and, of course, the abbey of Cluny itself.

¹¹⁷ Bernard II of Besalù, Hugh VI of Lusignan, Raymond IV of St Gilles, Welf IV of Bavaria and William IX of Aquitaine. Perhaps Eudes I of Burgundy should be included as a sixth.

¹¹⁸ The eleven were Alfonso VI of Castile, Centule IV of Béarn, Ebles of Roucy, Fulcher of Chartres, Robert Guiscard of Apulia, Robert I of Flanders, Sancho IV Ramirez of Aragon, Sven II of Denmark, Thibaut I of Blois, William Tête-Hardi of Burgundy and William VIII of Aquitaine.

¹¹⁹ The three were Amadeus II of Savoy, Frederick of Montbéliard and Hugh I of Burgundy.

¹²⁰ Bertrand II of Provence and Peter of Melgueil.

¹²¹ Mayer, *Mélanges*, 22–31; Runciman, *A History*, 1.145–6.

distinguished member of the family of the viscounts of Marseilles, Achard, had been accused of simony, deposed from the archbishopric of Arles and excommunicated when he had refused to give up his control of the cathedral, but he had hung on — and his successor had been frightened off by threats from Achard's family — up to the time when he took the cross, together with relations and local supporters.¹²² Since another recruit to the expedition of 1100–1 was Albert of Parma, the brother of the anti-pope Wibert of Ravenna, it has been suggested that the distinguished opponents of Gregorianism recruited for the First Crusade signified a triumph of Pope Urban over his rival.¹²³

But there are exceptions to everything and in this case they are overshadowed by the circumstantial evidence that the traditions I have referred to helped build up an ethos which conditioned some kindred groups to respond positively to the appeals to crusade. And another feature, already apparent in the family of the counts of Burgundy and among the descendants of Almodis of La Marche, comes into view when one raises one's eyes from nuclear to extended families. It looks as though women had a positive influence on the responses of men to crusade appeals.

The early twelfth-century sculpture of a man and his wife, which once stood in the cloister of the priory of Belval in Lorraine, has already been mentioned. The man is not in armour. He wears simple travelling garments, but his staff and purse, and the cross sewn on the front of his cloak show him to have been a crusader, dressed as all crusaders would have been for most of the time, as a pilgrim. The woman, in a gesture of great tenderness, even anguish, has her arms around him and her face pressed close to his. The crusader stands quite still, staring forwards and a little upwards. Is he leaving, with his eyes fixed already on a first sight of Jerusalem, or has he just come back, his mind still filled with the horrors he has witnessed? Is his wife determined not to let him go or is she passionately welcoming him home? Whatever scene the figures were supposed to be depicting, it was popular: a similar one, carved in oak by the master of Salzburg and depicting Louis IX of France, who is, significantly, in armour, and his wife, dates from a century and a half later. It recalls one of the most clear and straightforward messages of

¹²² J. P. Poly *La Provence et la société féodale (879–1166)* (Paris, 1976), 262–4, 268.

¹²³ P. Riant, 'Un dernier triomphe d'Urbain II', *Revue des questions historiques* 34 (1883), 247–55.

the sources for crusading: that women were inhibitors. With one exception, the story of Adela of England persuading her husband Stephen of Blois to take the road to Jerusalem again after his flight from Antioch,¹²⁴ commentaries, histories, treatises, sermons, papal injunctions and popular songs over and over again reported the distress of women at crusaders' departures, sometimes even their attempts to prevent their men from taking the cross, and the sadness of the men themselves at leaving their loved ones.

The message of the sources is not in the least surprising, given the experiences of women left behind for several years to manage estates and bring up families, surrounded by rapacious neighbours and litigious relations. As late as the thirteenth century, when the crown was involved in the protection of families and properties, English legal records contain a depressing inventory of the injury of every sort to which crusaders' wives were exposed — bigamy, murder, theft, legal chicanery — and although we know only of the bad cases, because it was those which reached the courts,¹²⁵ there can be no doubt that women left behind had an anxious and precarious time, apart from the temptations to which they would have been exposed and the chance that they would be widowed and their children orphaned. The consequences for family and tenants of a landowner's absence could be so grave that the image drawn in the material of the woman as an inhibitor makes sense, but the genealogical evidence I have examined suggests that it is misleading. Women probably played the same positive rôle in the transmission of support for crusading from one family to another as they did with respect to monastic reform.¹²⁶ They seem to have been exercising an influence on crusading which no one wished to acknowledge, not even the women themselves, who must have appreciated as much as men the portrayal in songs of females weeping at the gate. No one seems to have been prepared to admit that in some cases, perhaps in many, they had been instrumental in providing recruits.

The genealogical tables reveal their influence at work, because in them a woman is often to be found at the junction between her own family, which produces many crusaders, and the one she has married into, in which the only recruits are associated with her in one way or

¹²⁴ OV 5,324.

¹²⁵ C. J. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), 209–15.

¹²⁶ Clemency and Ermintrude of Burgundy, for example, were responsible for the spread of Cluniac influence and attachments. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 146.

another. Outstanding among the mothers and wives from lineages predisposed to crusade were the four Montlhéry sisters, whose wider influence on the crusading movement will be described in detail below. But there are plenty of other examples. The head of the family of Aalst, Baldwin of Ghent, went on the First Crusade with his brother and his uncle; so did the husbands of both his sisters.¹²⁷ Ralph of Beaugency, who took the cross with his brother Eudes, was married to the crusade leader Hugh the Great of Vermandois's daughter Mathilda; Eudes of Beaugency was Hugh's standard bearer or seneschal.¹²⁸ Ralph's sister Agnes of Beaugency was the mother of the brothers William II and Robert who began the participation of the Nevers family in the movement, although in that case she may have been reinforcing a predisposition that was already present because their great-uncle was the crusader Robert I Burgundio of Sablé. Thomas of Marle was married to Ida of Hainault, the daughter of the crusader Baldwin of Mons and the cousin of the crusade leader Robert of Flanders. The wife of Duke Welf IV of Bavaria, who led a large force in 1101, was Robert's aunt. Hugh II of Le Puiset may well have joined Bohemond of Taranto's crusade of 1107 because he was married to Bohemond's niece, although Hugh himself belonged to a family of enthusiasts.

Faced by such a hidden area of life one cannot now establish how the women did it. The period was one in which mothers could take a real interest in their children, but it may be that the influence of women on recruitment was more indirect, perhaps by the way they brought about changes to the ethos of a household by introducing chaplains of a particular kind. It may be that the traffic between families through women could pass more quickly one way than the other. A family which was not predisposed to crusade would not necessarily be fired simply by becoming associated with zealots through the marriage into them of one of their daughters. An example is perhaps the Le Riches of Maule, who, incidentally, demonstrate that religious devotion and support of reform did not inevitably lead to immediate recruitment. In the later eleventh century their lordship west of Paris was a centre of evangelical piety under Peter and Ansold, the second of whom had served in the Norman army under Robert Guiscard which had invaded the

¹²⁷ Arnold II of Ardres and Engilbert of Cysoing.

¹²⁸ RR 831; Gilo, 'Historia de via Hierosolymitana', 775; Ch d'A 1.426–7, 442 (called Eudes of Beauvais).

Byzantine empire in 1081. The knights of Maule had a close and warm relationship with their local priory and used to visit it regularly to discuss 'practical as well as speculative matters' with the monks.¹²⁹ So here was a secular lordship under the influence of reform, some of the knights of which were interested in theology. The Maule family also had marriage ties with a group of enthusiastic crusaders, for Ansold's sister Odeline was married to Walter II of Poissy, who took the cross in 1096 together with no less than four other members of his family, one of whom was Peter the Hermit's collaborator, Walter Sansavoir. The Maule family looks like one which ought to have responded positively to crusade preaching, but the first known commitment was made not by a close relation but by a knight on the estate called Grimoald. The first member of the family to take the cross appears to have been Robert, Ansold's nephew (through another sister), who joined Bohemond of Taranto's crusade of 1107 with his cousin Hugh Sansavoir of Poissy.

News of the crusade appeal must have spread as fast down the networks of kin relationships as it did through preaching, if not faster. Members of the same family can be found crusading in each other's company; indeed whole contingents and even small crusades could be dominated by cousinhood. The crusade of 1129, which will be described later, was an example of this. Another was Bohemond of Taranto's army from southern Italy in 1096. According to the author of the *Gesta Francorum*, who marched with it, recruitment started in June 1096 at Bohemond's initiative.¹³⁰ Although it is hard to believe that Bohemond had heard nothing until nearly seven months after the council of Clermont, he was apparently surprised by the arrival of crusaders in southern Italy, probably a force of Catalans, because a contingent under Count Geoffrey III of Roussillon was to leave with him.¹³¹ The following he recruited does not look particularly impressive, perhaps because those who knew him had doubts about his motives,¹³² although it also included a substantial figure from central France, the vidame of Chartres Bartholomew Boel. It is worth noting that only two Normans from the island of Sicily, Robert of Sourdeval

¹²⁹ OV 3.206, and see 180.

¹³⁰ GF 7. For the date, see E. Jamison, 'Some Notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with Special Reference to the Norman Contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade', *Studies in French Language and Mediaeval Literature presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939), 191.

¹³¹ GF 8.

¹³² See Geoffrey Malaterra 102.

and Roger of Barneville, both quite substantial landowners, are known to have joined the crusade; and Roger, who may have been leading a body of Sicilians, does not seem to have served with Bohemond. Although one contemporary numbered those in Bohemond's company at over 500 knights,¹³³ an analysis of the individuals known to have followed him provides us with representatives of only four leading families besides his own: Richard and Rainald of the Principate (Salerno), Geoffrey of Montescaglioso, Robert of Buonalbergo and Robert of Molise. Richard, Rainald and Geoffrey were his relations anyway, as were others in his company: his half-brother Guy, Richard of Caiazzo and Alife, Hermann of Canne, Tancred Marchisus, and Tancred's brothers William and Robert. Of Bohemond's fifteen 'captains',¹³⁴ eight were fairly closely related to him and a ninth, Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray, had been his father's knight.¹³⁵ Another relation and a close associate were enrolled by Bohemond as the crusade passed through Constantinople. They were William of Grandmesnil, who was married to Bohemond's sister Mabel and had taken refuge in the Byzantine empire in 1093 after an unsuccessful rebellion in Apulia,¹³⁶ and Peter of Alifā, who had been one of Robert Guiscard's vassals and was now a mercenary serving with the Byzantine forces.¹³⁷

In some families a tradition of crusading seems to have been quickly established. I will describe the contribution of the Montlhéry clan below. Another epicentre of continuing zeal may be located among leading castellan families in the district immediately to the north of Angers. Among those Angevins who had taken part in 1096 had been Fulk I of Matheflon, Rainald III of Château-Gontier and Segré, and Robert I Burgundio of Sablé. Robert was one of the greatest, and certainly the best born, of the count of Anjou's subjects, being the son of Count Rainald I of Nevers and Adela, the daughter of King Robert II of France and Constance of Arles. He had migrated to Anjou in the middle years of the eleventh century. He probably took the cross with other Angevins at Tours in the presence of Pope Urban II; his son Rainald was certainly there.¹³⁸

¹³³ Lupus Protospatharius, 'Annales Bareses', 52. See also J. Shepard, 'When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097–8', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 244.

¹³⁴ Monte Cassino 476–7.

¹³⁵ Hermann of Canne was both a cousin and a vassal. Jamison, 'Some notes', 198–9.

¹³⁶ AA 414–15; Jamison, 'Some notes', 199.

¹³⁷ OV 4.34 note.

¹³⁸ Anjou (Guillot) 2.242.

He set out in the autumn of 1097, accompanied by Rainald of Château-Gontier, who was related by marriage.¹³⁹ Descendants of these Angevin castellans seem to have been engaged in the early twelfth-century crusades. Of Fulk of Matheflon's sons, it may be that Robert took part in the crusade of 1107 and Hugh joined that of 1129. Of Robert Burgundio's grandsons, one, Robert, had travelled East to serve in Palestine before 1127 and became a Templar, and another, Henry, probably joined the crusade of 1129.¹⁴⁰ But in other families the establishment of traditions had to wait until later. The Bernards of Bré in the Limousin, who sent three men in 1096 and four in 1147,¹⁴¹ provided no recruits in the interim and the descendants of Count William Tête-Hardi of Burgundy, who had been so active at the time of the First Crusade and were to contribute no less than ten crusaders in 1147,¹⁴² seem to have provided only one between 1102 and 1146,¹⁴³ although it was William's son, Pope Calixtus II, who proclaimed the crusade of 1120–4. In these kin groups, as in fact in most, it looks as though the zeal of 1096 was only rekindled in 1146.

Nevertheless, it is clear that by the 1140s the crusading experiences of previous generations, and pride in them, had been locked deeply into the collective memory of some cousinhoods. It was this pride which was to be exploited by Pope Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux in their preaching of the crusade of 1147, when they called on armsbearers to emulate the achievements of their ancestors.

It will be seen as a great token of nobility and uprightness if those things acquired by the efforts of your fathers are vigorously defended by you, their good sons. But if, God forbid, it comes to pass differently, then the bravery of the fathers will have proved to be diminished in the sons.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ It has been suggested by H. E. Mayer ('Angevins *versus* Normans': The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 10) that the first crusader Geoffrey Parented, the father of two settlers, Anselm and Godfrey Parented, who were resident in Jerusalem from at least 1108 and 1125 respectively, came from Segré. If so Geoffrey must have been in Rainald's company; perhaps Anselm and Godfrey were as well.

¹⁴⁰ The kindred must have built up the grand myth of crusading which is reflected in the *Chronique de Parcé* 12.

¹⁴¹ In 1147 Bernard IV, Guy, Peter III Aimery and William Eudes of Bré.

¹⁴² William IV of Mâcon, Alfonso VII of Leon-Castile, Louis VII of France and his brother Robert I of Dreux, Amadeus III of Savoy, William the Old of Montferrat, Rainald I and Stephen of Bar-le-Duc, and Guy II and William of Ponthieu. Among William Tête-Hardi's female descendants there were women married to a further four men who took the cross for the Second Crusade: Archimbaud VII of Bourbon, Humbert III of Beaujeu, Alfonso I of Portugal and William III of Warenne.

¹⁴³ Rainald I of Bar-le-Duc in 1129.

¹⁴⁴ Eugenius III 303.

The success of this propaganda can be measured not only by the response to it — the crusade of 1147 was much the largest since the First — but also by the number of those taking the cross who came from families which had provided recruits to earlier expeditions. I have identified 262 men and women taking the cross for the 1147 campaign in the East. Of these, thirty-six are known to have been the direct descendants of earlier crusaders to the East or of men who had joined the embryonic military orders: twenty-two of fathers,¹⁴⁵ thirteen of grandfathers¹⁴⁶ and one of a great-grandfather.¹⁴⁷ Thirteen, who were not directly descended from earlier participants, had uncles,¹⁴⁸ and one a great-uncle,¹⁴⁹ who had already fought. One had a brother¹⁵⁰ and five had other relations.¹⁵¹

This suggests that by the middle of the twelfth century there was a pool of potential crusaders, drawn especially from those committed kindred-groups in which recruitment had been concentrated at the time of the First Crusade. At this stage the crusading movement was developing as much in the collective consciousness of certain noble and knightly families as in action and in the thinking of the theoreticians. Ideas were taking root below the surface, formulating themselves all the while out of sight in family environments, leaving few traces in historical records.

¹⁴⁵ Alfonso Jordan of Toulouse, Baldwin of Ardres, Bartholomew of Vendôme, Bernard IV of Bré, Drogo II of Mouchy-le-Châtel, Engelrand II of Coucy, Guy of Bré, Hugh Tirel I of Poix, Hugh VII of Lusignan, Itier II of Toucy, Rainald of Tonnerre, Raymond Trencavel, Robrt of Boves, Roger I of Béziers, Sibylla of Anjou, Simon of Vermandois, Thibald of Payns, William Aiguillon II of Trie, William II Peverel, William III of Nevers, William IV of Mâcon and William VII of Auvergne.

¹⁴⁶ Adhémar IV of Limoges, Eleanor of Aquitaine, Gaucher of Montjay-la-Tour, Guy II of Ponthieu, Henry I of Champagne, Henry I of Toul, Humbert III of Beaujeu, Louis VII of France, Robert I of Dreux, Roger of Mowbray, Waleran of Meulan, Welf VI of Bavaria and William III of Warenne.

¹⁴⁷ William of Ponthieu.

¹⁴⁸ Amadeus III of Savoy, Bertrand of St Jean, Conrad III of Germany, Everard III of Breteuil, Frederick I of Germany, Guy IV of Lastours, Henry of Alsace, Otto of Freising, Rainald I of Bar-le-Duc, Stephen of Bar-le-Duc, Thierry I of Flanders, William the Old of Montferrat and William of Courtenay.

¹⁴⁹ Philip of Gloucester.

¹⁵⁰ William Peverel of Dover.

¹⁵¹ Bernard of Le Dognon, Fulcher of Le Dognon, Norgeot of Cruz, Peter III Aimery of Bré and William Eudes of Bré. At least another three crusaders from families which had not so far taken part, Archimbaud VII of Bourbon, Hugh I of Vaudemont and Ivo II of Nesle (who may also have been related to earlier crusaders himself), were married to the daughters of earlier crusaders.

Any map of recruitment, misleading as it is bound to be, would show that while no part of western Europe was immune from enthusiasm, the influences on men and women of the ties of lordship and blood were reflected in the geography of response. Lordship tended to operate at a regional level and it stamps itself on the map in the concentrations of recruits in the seigneuries of great magnates, whose own reactions may have been conditioned by a predisposition in their families. The local ties which bound men together must have been an important factor in preserving morale during a campaign, because little companies from localities can be seen keeping their cohesion during its rigours. Snapshots of neighbours huddled together in the East are to be found in some of the wills drawn up on behalf of sick or dying crusaders; naturally, since final dispositions needed witnesses who would be known locally and could transmit them by word of mouth when they returned home. When Bertrand of Bas, a canon of Le Puy, fell ill at sea, presumably on the way home in 1099, and renounced tithes he had held unlawfully at a place called Bauzac, his deed was witnessed by six companions, all of them neighbours from Velay and on board ship with him.¹⁵² When Guy of Bré from the Limousin lay dying in Latakia in Syria in 1102 he made several wills, leaving property to local religious communities, which were witnessed by seven men, all from the Limousin and including another lord, Peter II of Pierre-Buffière, who was a relation by marriage.¹⁵³ When Herbert of Thouars, deeply upset at what turned out to be the false news of his brother's death, had a stroke or heart attack at Jaffa on 28 May 1102, his last words concerned the family foundation at Chaise-le-Vicomte, which he wished to enlarge through endowment, and they were witnessed by five men, of whom one was a member of his household, two were local Poitevin knights, a fourth was a knight whose home was not very distant and the fifth was a doctor from Nantes who must have been treating him.¹⁵⁴

Family influence, on the other hand, is revealed more in chains of recruits linked to one another over great distances. Rotrou of Perche was related to the Anglo-Norman nobility and travelled East on the First Crusade with Robert of Normandy; his sister was the wife of the Limousin crusader Raymond of Turenne, who went with Raymond of St Gilles. And Rotrou's maternal aunt had married into the ruling

¹⁵² Chamalières 54.

¹⁵³ Aureil 179; Solignac fol. 23v; Vigeois 67–9.

¹⁵⁴ Chaise-le-Vicomte 7–8; and see 25, 347. See also Bèze Liber 614.

house of Aragon, which explains why he spent so much of the early twelfth century campaigning in Spain.

Although many different factors must have played a part in the response of each individual, the decision to crusade usually took place within the contexts provided by lordship and especially kindred. Other associations, including the relationship so many of the armsbearers had with local religious communities, also came into play. It was in their preparations for their crusades that the links crusaders had with local churchmen come to our notice, because they are revealed in the charters which recorded the arrangements by which donations were made in exchange for prayer or money was raised for the journey. Indeed, pre-eminent among the practical questions facing any potential crusader and his family must have been the question of costs. The venture was obviously going to be a very expensive one. How were the bills to be paid? And it was here, and in all the practicalities of preparation, that a crusader's family could demonstrate its value.

Chapter 5— Preparing for Crusades

Strategy

The pope and his advisers seem to have been originally thinking of raising one army, but even that could not have been assembled for a long campaign without planning and some of the details must have been discussed before the council of Clermont, because the decisions announced there cannot have been made on the spot. It seems to have been during the council that the date of 15 August 1096 for the army's departure was fixed.¹ A decree, which defined the crusade as a fully satisfactory penance for those who joined 'not for honour or money',² suggests that someone had raised the behaviour of French knights who for a century had been looting in Spain,³ a part of the world which had been anyway on Urban's mind. Others laid down that the property of crusaders should be protected,⁴ that donations (perhaps a euphemism for arrangements that involved counter-gifts) and pledges made by them should be guaranteed by the church,⁵ and that they should wear crosses.⁶ Regulations were issued in a vain attempt to limit the crusade to those who were qualified to fight — the old and infirm ought not to go;⁷ women and priests were to take part only in special circumstances and with official permission,⁸ monks not at all⁹ — and to establish some method of control by encouraging laymen to seek the blessing of their parish priests before they left.¹⁰ Adhèmar of Monteil, the bishop of Le Puy whom Urban must have wanted to be his representative, came forward immediately after the pope's sermon to take the cross.¹¹ Raymond of St Gilles had been apparently chosen to be the military commander, at least as far as

¹ Kb 137.

² *Decreta Claramontensia* 74.

³ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 78–86.

⁴ HP 169–70.

⁵ 'donationes et laxas'. HGL 5.748. For the use of the word 'laxa' for pledge, see Tulle 418.

⁶ HP 170; RR 729–30.

⁷ RR 729.

⁸ RR 729.

⁹ Geoffrey of Vendôme 162; 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313.

¹⁰ RR 729.

¹¹ BB 15–16; FC 138–9. See RR 731.

Constantinople after which it was probably assumed that the Byzantine emperor would take command. A delegation from Raymond which must have been pre-arranged arrived at Clermont to pledge his service only a few days after the pope's sermon.¹²

But as usual the drawing board was one thing, the realities of a stressful and ambitious enterprise another. Adhèmar enjoyed great authority, partly because of the strength of his personality, but he died two-thirds of the way through the campaign. Raymond was never recognized as generalissimo and Stephen of Blois, the only crusader who briefly held the position of commander-in-chief, ran away. The Greeks would not take part and their emperor would not take charge, being content to follow the crusade at a safe distance; he hurried back to Constantinople when his own troops seemed to be threatened. The western army looted with a will; it had to if it was to survive. The Church was not yet in the position to give adequate protection to the crusaders' dependants and was anyway confused about its rôle. It had become clear by April 1096, when a charter drawn up at Cluny contained a reference to 'such a populous and great arousal or expedition of Christian people',¹³ that recruitment was going to be on a much larger scale than originally envisaged and there turned out to be not one, but many contingents, some of which left well before 15 August and others long afterwards. There was no way the pope could have limited a pilgrimage, particularly one to a shrine like Jerusalem where the elderly went to die, to young healthy male warriors and it is striking how old many of the leading crusaders were. Rainald of Château-Gontier,¹⁴ Robert Burgundio of Sablé,¹⁵ Ralph of Gaël¹⁶ and Hugh of Lusignan¹⁷ must have been past the fighting age or nearly so. Large numbers of the 'unsuitable' joined, or tried to, including monks¹⁸ (although those employed as chaplains by the magnates had presumably got permission to go) and many women, among whom were seven wives travelling with husbands,¹⁹ a nun from Trier who was taken by the Muslims in the catastrophe that befell Peter the Hermit's force and then, when she was liberated

¹² BB 16.

¹³ Cluny 5.51.

¹⁴ See CGCA 'Additamenta' 149.

¹⁵ See Marmoutier (Manceau) 457.

¹⁶ Born before 1040. *Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. G. E. Cokayne *et al.*, 2nd edn. (London, 1910–40), 9.572.

¹⁷ He must have been born in the mid 1030s at the latest, which would have made him well over sixty in 1101. See St Maixent Chartes 16.242–3.

¹⁸ See 'Papsturkunden in Florenz' 313; Anselm of Canterbury 4.85.

¹⁹ Elvira of Leon-Castile, Emeline, Emma of Hereford, Florina of Burgundy, Godehilde of Tosny, Hadvide of Chiny and Humberge of Le Puiset.

in the summer of 1097, eloped with her erstwhile Turkish captor,²⁰ and the religious leader of a sect which believed her goose was filled with the Holy Spirit, at least until the bird died.²¹ There is one surviving example of a woman following the pope's instructions and asking for permission to go. Emerias of Altejas went to her bishop for his blessing and was persuaded to commute her vow to the foundation of a hospice for the poor.²²

There were more discussions at Nîmes in July 1096, because immediately after the church council there had ended the bishops of Grenoble and Orange were despatched to Genoa to seek assistance.²³ The arrival of a Genoese fleet sixteen months later at Suwaidiyah, the port of Antioch, suggests that in this respect there had been quite sophisticated forward planning. Urban kept in touch with, and reacted to, events during the crusade as far as he was able, although he was to die before the news of the liberation of Jerusalem reached him. In 1098 he sent a delegation to call on Pisa to join the enterprise.²⁴ He appointed Daimbert of Pisa to replace Adh  mar of Monteil as legate when he heard of the latter's death.²⁵ He sought reinforcements, presiding over a council in Rome in April 1099 which decreed that the penance for an arsonist should be 'that he should remain in the service of God in Jerusalem or Spain for one year'²⁶ and at about the same time commissioning the archbishop of Milan to preach the cross in Lombardy.²⁷

But there were limits to what he and the higher clergy could do and the practical details had generally to be decided by those laymen who had taken the cross and were on the spot. The commentator Guibert of Nogent referred to a 'time when the organization of this expedition was engaging the leaders of the kingdom [of France] and was the subject of a discussion held by them with Hugh the Great in the presence of King Philip in Paris on 11 February [1096]'.²⁸ In spite of the scale of the operation and the fact that departure dates were staggered to suit the times of harvest in different parts of Europe,²⁹ there seems to have been some coordination of the march of the contingents, because they proceeded by different, although conventional, routes and arrived at intervals at Constantinople between

²⁰ AA 327–8.

²¹ GN Gesta 251; AA 295.

²² HGL 5.757.

²³ *Italia pontificia* 6,2.323; P. Riant 'Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades', *AOL* 1 (1881), 119–20.

²⁴ *Italia pontificia* 3.359.

²⁵ See Runciman, *A History*, 1.299.

²⁶ *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita* 2.168.

²⁷ *Italia pontificia* 6,1.54.

²⁸ GN Gesta 149.

²⁹ FC 154.

November 1096 and May 1097. When Robert Burgundio of Sablé left with Rainald of Château-Gontier later in 1097 he was said to be 'in secunda profectio',³⁰ which must have been a premeditated army of reinforcements: the crusaders ahead of him at Antioch were expecting one.³¹ Most of the knights in this new force presumably withdrew from central Asia Minor with the Emperor Alexius in the summer of 1098, although Rainald got to Jerusalem eventually, because he died there.³² Similar forward planning must have been in train in 1101 and 1101. A charter issued on behalf of Eudes of Burgundy referred to him, Hugh the Great of Vermandois and Stephen of Blois leaving 'in prima profectio', presumably the first army of the third wave of the crusade to leave France.³³

Individual Planning

As we have seen, a crusader usually took the cross at some large and turbulent assembly at which the enthusiasm of the audience was whipped up by a preacher, but he would then have had to face the first of many questions posed by the situation in which he now found himself. How was he going to pay for his crusade? Warfare has always been a costly business and the First Crusade was war of a type never experienced before and on a scale not known for six centuries. Its soldiers were not conscripts or vassals performing feudal service, but were volunteers, at least theoretically, and those who could not attract the support, or were not in the household, of a great noble had to finance themselves. Any knight would need to take with him a number of servants, as we have seen. These were indispensable and a recent historian is surely right when he suggests that to get some idea of the effectives, as opposed to the non-combatants, in a crusade force one has to add the servants to the number of knights.³⁴ If one assumes that the most recent estimate of about 7,000 nobles and knights on the expedition of 1096–9 is correct,³⁵ by taking account of squires, grooms, and others in supporting rôles one reaches a figure of 21,000–28,000 effectives in the army in Asia Minor in the summer of 1097. Each of these men had to be horsed, equipped and fed, a prospect which many knights must have viewed with feelings of despair.

³⁰ Marmoutier (Manceau) 90; also Marmoutier (Anjou) 39.

³¹ RA 47.

³² CGCA 'Additamenta' 149.

³³ Molesme 2.13.

³⁴ France, *Victory in the East*, 126.

³⁵ France, *Victory in the East*, 142.

The various armies of the First Crusade were to march overland, although a surprisingly large amount of shipping was also involved.³⁶ The crusade of 1107 assembled in southern Italy and was transported across the Adriatic; after the débâcle before Durazzo those who went on to Palestine presumably travelled from the south Italian ports. Elements of the crusade of 1120–4 made the sea-crossing to the Holy Land, some of them from Venice in 1122,³⁷ and the crusade of 1129 also went to Palestine by sea.³⁸ Maritime transportation created its own problems, of course, and we do not know how the crusaders of 1107 and the 1120s coped with them, but these expeditions, which were anyway smaller, cannot have caused the headaches the volunteers in 1096–7 or 1100–1 had as they prepared for a march of 2,000 miles, much of it in hostile territory where there would be no system of provisioning. Although they could carry supplies for the early part of the march,³⁹ they must have known that for most of the time they would have to forage to survive. They had to make sure that they had adequate equipment and they would have recognized that they would have to carry large quantities of *matériel* with them, including ordinary clothing, leather (tack and saddlery), saddlebags — there are descriptions of the knights taking the saddle-bags off their horses before a battle⁴⁰ — and tenting, which were perishable, armour and weapons, horse-shoes, sacks, barrels and cash, or items which could be exchanged for it.

Large quantities of money or precious metal are bulky and heavy and their use by the crusaders is a problematical subject. The treasury of Peter the Hermit's army in the Balkans was a waggon filled with gold and silver, although it is not clear how much of this was spoil looted on the way.⁴¹ The army in Syria and Palestine in 1097–9 had a common fund, to which Stephen of Blois was apparently referring when he wrote to his wife that now he was commander-in-chief he had doubled the amount of 'gold and silver and many other riches' he had brought with him when he left home.⁴² The early crusaders carried large quantities of European money with them: one eyewitness referred to an exchange rate in use and listed coinage of Poitiers, Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Valence, Melgueil and Le Puy; other coin types were in use as well.⁴³ An army this size would have

³⁶ See J. S. C. Riley-Smith (ed.) *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, 1991), 30–1.

³⁷ FC 657. horses were reported being transported.

³⁸ WT 618.

³⁹ See FC 154.

⁴⁰ See FC 192.

⁴¹ AA 281.

⁴² Kb 149.

⁴³ D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2nd edn.

(footnote continued on next page)

had its own internal market, but nevertheless the practical difficulties involved in transporting coins, particularly billon ones which cannot have had much external value, can barely be imagined. Coin was also used on the expedition of 1101; the abbey of Lérins was storing cash collected for it and Pope Paschal II ordered part of the horde to be given to Fulk the Lombard of Grasse.⁴⁴ Even the crusaders of 1107 and the 1120s, who were making for a region now occupied by westerners, must have found it hard to pay their way. It is not surprising that the armsbearers had a penchant for precious cloths, which could be folded up, were a great deal lighter to carry, and could have been easily exchanged.⁴⁵

Carriage and mounts were priorities, especially since everyone must have assumed that the death rate among the army's animals was going to be high. Besides horses and mules, the first crusaders made use of asses, oxen and camels,⁴⁶ but all the references to these are to be found once they were well into the march, when they were seizing what they could. It is clear, however, that at the planning stage they knew well that they would need many pack-animals and the charters are peppered with references to mules. Very often the cost of an animal was expressed, a particularly expensive one, worth 10 pounds, being acquired by Guy of Thiers, the count of Chalon-sur-Saône.⁴⁷ In 1101 Berald Silvain had already pledged some mills to the abbey of St Jean d'Angély for sixty *solidi*. He now wished to sell them.

When Berald wanted to go to Jerusalem he asked the lord abbot to give him, over and above the forty and twenty *solidi* he owed, twelve silver marks and a mule and fox pelts . . . This the lord abbot did. For he gave him twelve silver marks, each of which was then worth fifty *solidi*, and a mule worth 200 *solidi*, and pelts costing forty-five *solidi*.⁴⁸

Even allowing for the different values in provincial money in western Europe, the cost of the mules available to religious communities seems to have been rather higher than that of horses, which is an indication of how valuable pack-animals were. There are fewer reference to horses in the charters, perhaps because it was not easy

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(London, 1995), 3–21. A. V. Murray ('The Army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096–1099: Structure and Dynamics of a Contingent on the First Crusade', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992), 326–7) has suggested that Godfrey of Bouillon was carrying *deniers* he had just minted. This seems to be very unlikely.

⁴⁴ Antibes 62.

⁴⁵ See AA 572, 577–8; Chaise-le-Vicomte 6–7; Le Ronceray d'Angers 104.

⁴⁶ See for example GF 23, 28.

⁴⁷ Paray-le-Monial 108.

⁴⁸ St Jean d'Angély 33.111.

for religious houses to include them in a deal, but in agreements at the time of the First Crusade, Isnard of la Garenne, a possible crusader, got a horse worth forty *solidi*⁴⁹ and in return for their surrender of rights by the brothers who shared the lordship of the castle of Mezenc near Le Puy one man got a mule, another got 100 *solidi* and a horse worth 100 *solidi*, and a third forty *solidi* and another horse worth 100 *solidi*.⁵⁰

Any estimate of the sum a recruit would be budgeting for in the spring of 1096 is a guess, but a reasonable one is that a poor knight would have to find at least four times his average annual income⁵¹ and the raising of this sort of cash would have put a strain even on the affluent. The Burgundian castellan Achard of Montmerle pledged valuable property to the abbey of Cluny because 'he desired to go armed [to Jerusalem]', the inference being that he would have had no need to borrow if he had been going unarmed.⁵² The German nobleman Wolfker of Kuffern entered into a pledge 'because he could not afford the costs' of the crusade;⁵³ the same was true of the archbishop of Cologne's ministerialis Frumold;⁵⁴ and in 1120 the crusader Guy Tortus of Rochefort-sur-Loire admitted to being in the same predicament.⁵⁵ Pope Urban had asked the richer armsbearers to subsidize the less well-off⁵⁶ and the pockets of the magnates must have been stretched further, in some cases beyond breaking point. The relatively small number of charters relating to the crusade which are to be found in Languedoc, from where we know Raymond of St Gilles led a substantial force, may be a reflection of the assistance Raymond himself was prepared to give. I have already suggested that Normandy and Champagne may be similar cases. When subjects had to raise cash themselves, their lords, who would be spared the granting of subsidy and could anyway benefit from *douceurs* paid in return for their consent to the disposal of property,⁵⁷ would do what they could to ease their knights' own arrangements. When Robert Michael sold some land, 'Nivelo son of Fulcher, at that time lord of Fréteval [and Robert Michael's lord and crusade leader], and his brother Hamelin confirmed the sale. And

⁴⁹ St Pere de Chartres 2.516.

⁵⁰ St Chaffre du Monastier 141.

⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 43.

⁵² Cluny 5.51.

⁵³ Göttweig 194.

⁵⁴ 'Chronicon Brunwylarensis' 152.

⁵⁵ Marmoutier (Anjou) 66.

⁵⁶ RR 729.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Marmoutier (Dunois) 139, 142; St Jean d'Angély 30.114.

Nivelo sent his uncle Gerard . . . to divide and set limits to the aforesaid land, meadow, and water.⁵⁸

At any rate it is not surprising to find in the cartularies of religious communities many examples of the steps taken by crusaders and their families to provide themselves with cash.

Renunciations for Cash

In a lawless and violent age it was common for lords who believed they had some right to lands, rents or customs to hold them back or extort them by force. One measure, which seems to have been attractive to them once they had decided to crusade, was the settlement of the disputes which had resulted. As penitent pilgrims they were reluctant to leave behind men and women, and particularly religious, with grudges or complaints against them; indeed they could be threatened with excommunication and forbidden to go if they did not make peace.⁵⁹ Renunciations were quite commonly made by them, as will be seen, but in some cases religious communities could be persuaded to part with money in exchange. The benefits to the crusader were multiplied, because once he had come to terms with the religious house concerned he could leave with a clearer conscience and also with a contribution towards his expenses, although when making a deal of this kind Stephen of Neublans wanted to assure those who would read his charter of his best intentions: 'Although I have done this [his renunciation] especially for my soul, I have received . . . fifty *solidi* and two of the best mules.'⁶⁰

Some lords had been extremely rough during the squabbles which were resolved by the charters of renunciation. The co-owners of the castle of Mezenc, in dispute with the monks of St Chaffre du Monastier, had made their point by plundering

the poor living in our villages, taking everything that belonged to them to a loaf's crust, as the saying goes. Now some of them, taking the road to Jerusalem to fight the barbarians, have promised, together with all the other knights in the castle, to demand in future no bad custom whatsoever from the men living in the farms and villages [of St Chaffre], neither in

⁵⁸ Marmoutier (Dunois) 140. Robert of Flanders entered into deals with vassals that freed properties, held in fief of him, to give away or pledge. Flanders 63, 64.

⁵⁹ St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847) 128; St Laon de Thouars 44. See also Reims (admin) 1.286.

⁶⁰ Cluny 5.90.

pack-animals, nor in demanding lodging, nor in food, nor in oxen, whether for ploughing or for bearing burdens, nor in any other custom of this sort, but all have sworn an oath on the sacred altar, in the presence of the abbot, to exact nothing further of such a kind . . . The bishop of Le Puy was asked to absolve them from their crime. Wondering at their cruelty, he absolved them from the crime they had committed because they were hastening to join the expedition to Jerusalem and had promised amendment and correction.⁶¹

The castellan Nivelon of Freteval had acted in much the same way.

I had harshly worn down the land of [the abbey of] St Père [de Chartres], that is to say Emprainville and the places around it, in the way that had become customary, by seizing the goods of the inhabitants there . . . This was the rough nature of this custom. Whenever the onset of knightly ferocity stirred me up, I used to descend on the aforesaid village, taking with me a troop of my knights and a crowd of my attendants, and against nature I would make over the goods of the men of St Père for food for my knights.⁶²

Some quarrels had lasted for years. The father of Bertrand, the castellan of Moncontour, had become a monk of La Trinité de Vendôme in 1081 and as his entry gift had endowed the monks with a lot of property at Coulommiers, for which he was a vassal of the castellan of Beaugency. Bertrand had not been present when the gift had been made and when he had heard of it he had made it clear that he did not accept it. He had gained the backing of Count Geoffrey Jordan of Vendôme and with his help had seized two-thirds of the property by force. In 1092, deprived of the count's support, Bertrand had settled out of court for one-third, but by the time of the First Crusade he seems to have reoccupied the two-thirds he had held earlier. Now, believing that his crusade 'would most certainly be of no profit to him' otherwise, he summoned the abbot, acknowledged his fault and handed over the land. He received 1,800 *solidi* from the abbey, with a further 100 *solidi* going to his wife, four pounds to his eldest son and twelve *denarii* to each of his three younger sons, one of whom was still a baby. His lord, Ralph of Beaugency, who was also going on crusade, got twenty *solidi*.⁶³

These compositions were often expressed in grovelling terms,

⁶¹ St Chaffre du Monastier 140.

⁶² St Père de Chartres 2.428.

⁶³ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.104–7; P. D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: The Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme 1032–1187* (New York, 1981), 79, 94–5. The date of 1098 given for the renunciation must be in error. Ralph of Beaugency was referred to as being in Poitou, whereas in 1098 he was with the crusade in Syria.

more humiliating to the lords than those involving free renunciations which were contrite enough; perhaps this was demanded by the religious in return for their money. Nivelon of Fréteval, who by his own admission had been behaving very badly over Emprainville, allowed his charter-writer to refer to him, quoting from Pope Gregory I, as being 'raised in a nobility of birth which produces in many people an ignobility of mind', and to his claims as

the oppressive behaviour resulting from a certain bad custom, handed on to me not by ancient right but from the time of my father, a man of little weight who first harassed the poor with this oppression. Thereafter I had constantly maintained it in an atrociously tyrannical manner.⁶⁴

The fact that at least fourteen of these agreements survive from the time of the First Crusade,⁶⁵ with one from 1107,⁶⁶ three from 1120⁶⁷ and possibly another from 1129,⁶⁸ suggests that some churchmen also fastened on them as good ways of ending what must have been exhausting and stressful contests. But renunciations could only play a part in meeting costs. Property might well also have to be pledged or sold.

Pledges and Sales

Evidence survives for thirty (possibly thirty-two) pledges made at the time of the First Crusade⁶⁹ and for another in 1120.⁷⁰ The figures for sales or agreements involving counter-gifts are: thirty-

⁶⁴ St Père de Chartres 2.428. For other renunciations by Nivelon, see Marmoutier (Blésois) 56–7, 58–9.

⁶⁵ St Chaffre du Monastier 88, 139–41; La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.104–7; Chamalières 16–18; St Vincent du Mans 1.293, 384; Paray-le-Monial 107–8; St Philibert de Tournus (Juënin) 135; Marmoutier (Dunois) 141; St Père de Chartres 2.428–9; St Jean d'Angély 33.110; Cluny 5.87–91; Laurence of Liège 498.

⁶⁶ Vigeois 61–2.

⁶⁷ Angers 166; Marmoutier (Anjou) 66; St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 45–6.

⁶⁸ St Laon de Thouars 44–5.

⁶⁹ 'Départ d'un seigneur normand pour la première croisade' 28–9; Valenciennes (595); Cluny 5.51–3, 59, 108; St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.85 ('Triumphus Sancti Lamberti de castro Bullonio' 499); Götting 194–6; OV 4.338; 5.26, 32, 208, 278–80 (Hugh of Flavigny 475; William of Jumièges 274–5; *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum* 2.403); St Pierre de la Réole 140–1, 141, 141–2, 142, 142–3; Tulle 416–18 (276–7); Moleme 2.64–5, 229; Flanders 64–5; St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 26–7; Aureil 113–14; Grenoble 165–6; 'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançais à la première croisade' 399; La Charité-sur-Loire 88–9; Carcassonne 1.83; Savigny 1.457–8; St Jean d'Angély 30.384–5, 391; Roussillon 111; Marcigny 164–5; GAD 101; and possibly Auch 65; St Mont 121–2. For proposals for another pledge, see OV 5.280 (WMGR 2.379; Robert of Torigni 202 which is confused).

⁷⁰ Noyers 265–7.

eight (possibly forty-five) for the First Crusade,⁷¹ four for 1107⁷² and three for 1129.⁷³ All the pledges appear to have been *vifgages*, in which the lenders did not receive interest but occupied the properties concerned, enjoying the revenues from them until their loans had been repaid. In a charter dated 9 September 1096 William of Le Vast pledged his land for three silver marks to the abbey of Fécamp. A clause specified that while William could enjoy the rents taken this year — the harvest would just have been in — the abbey would have the rents in the year of the pledge's redemption.⁷⁴ In another more unusual *vifgage*, Bernard Morel, who was probably an early crusader and was anyway intending to spend a few years away helping to defend the Holy Land, pledged a farm to the nuns of Marcigny

on condition that while he remains in Jerusalem, where he was wanting to go, the nuns of Marcigny should take half the fruits of the land as their own and should put the other half on one side and should keep an account of how much that half is worth so that, if he returns, he should receive his share.⁷⁵

Since no interest was technically payable the employment of *vifgages* may have avoided the taint of usury, but a disadvantage for crusaders and their families was that the property passed out of their control until the pledges were redeemed.

Most pledges involved land, but loans were also raised on churches, tithes and glebe lands,⁷⁶ on rights of market justice,⁷⁷ on a castle⁷⁸ and on offices and advocacies.⁷⁹ Some pledge-charters

⁷¹ St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.86; Burgundy (Perard) 201–2; Laurence of Liège 498; St Chaffre du Monastier 88–9, 89; St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.167–8; 2.568–9; 'Chronicon Brunwylarense' 151–3; St Lambert de Liège 1.46–8; Dinant 1.13–14; St Vincent du Mans 1.190–1, 266–7, 301 (291); Sauxillanges 882, 884; Le Ronceray d'Angers 95, 104; Marmoutier (Tourangeau) 40–1; St Martial de Limoges 347; Marmoutier (Dunois) 139–40, 141–2; Aureil 85; Lérins 311–12 (although the payment was nominal); Azé et Le Genêteil 60–1 (Anjou (Halphen) 330); *Die Reichskanzler* 3.88–9; St Jean d'Angély 30.113–14, 260–1, 33.111–13; St Maixent Chartes 16.215–16; Montpellier 545, 550–1; Conques 368; Noyers 262, 275–6; Domène 248–9; Morigny 11; OV. 5.324 (Philip I 368 n.1); St Laon de Thouars 32; Talmont 197–8; Cluny 4.254; and possibly Auch 65; Savoy 2, Preuves, 27; St Vincent du Mans 1.222–3; Domène 91; St Jean d'Angély 30.388; St Amant de Boixe 111; St Père de Chartres 2.516.

⁷² Cluny 5.199, 202–3; Vigeois 62; St Père de Chartres 2.274–7.

⁷³ St Aubin d'Angers Cart 1.145; Eneaeme 28–9; Angers 258–60.

⁷⁴ 'Départ d'un seigneur normand' 28–9.

⁷⁵ Marcigny 164.

⁷⁶ St Pierre de la Réole 141, 142; St Jean d'Angély 30.384–5; Tulle 416–18 (276–7); 'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançaïs' 399; Grenoble 165–6; Noyers 265–7.

⁷⁷ St Pierre de la Réole 140–1.

⁷⁸ St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.85.

⁷⁹ OV 4.338; Valenciennes (595); Flanders 64–5.

specified that only the borrower himself,⁸⁰ or his successors or very close relations,⁸¹ could redeem the loan, but occasionally redemption was available to all members of the family.⁸² In one case it was laid down that there should be no redemption until the prior of the community making the loan, who was the borrower's brother, had died.⁸³ Normandy was *vifgaged* for five years.⁸⁴ The abbey of St Victor de Marseille would only permit a loan to be redeemed after four years.⁸⁵ The community at Göttweig allowed redemption only in the fifth year of the loan.⁸⁶

It was common for some kind of additional inducement to be offered to the lenders. The property concerned, or part of it, was often left to the lender after the borrower's death, whether on crusade or otherwise,⁸⁷ although Achard of Montmerle, who did not in fact survive, specified that this was to happen only if he died without an heir.⁸⁸ Ramnulf of 'Tuinac' was to get back from the abbey of St Jean d'Angély only half of the property he had pledged; but it was ecclesiastical and his rights to it must have been doubtful anyway.⁸⁹

Most of the sales consisted, as one would expect, of lands, vineyards, mills, rents and serfs. Some properties were substantial: the abbacy of Etampes and the viscounty of Bourges (both to King Philip I),⁹⁰ part of the county of Chalon⁹¹ and the castle of Couvin.⁹² Two lesser fiefs were sold to the crusaders' own lords.⁹³ Allods, the freeholds which were so valuable to their possessors,⁹⁴ were disposed of, together with local taxes,⁹⁵ and, again, churches, tithes and

⁸⁰ Cluny 5.52, 59; St Pierre de la Réole 140–1; St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 27; Roussillon 111; and probably Savigny 1.457–8; La Charité sur Loire 88.

⁸¹ St Pierre de la Réole 141; Flanders 64–5; St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.85.

⁸² St Pierre de la Réole 142–3; 'Depart d'un seigneur normand' 29.

⁸³ St Pierre de la Réole 141–2.

⁸⁴ OV 5.26, 32, 208, 278–80. But Hugh of Flavigny (473) reported that the agreement was for three years.

⁸⁵ St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 27.

⁸⁶ Göttweig 194.

⁸⁷ La Charité-sur-Loire 88; Tulle 417–18 (277); Marcigny 164; Cluny 5.59, 108; St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 26; Molesme 2.65, 229; St Jean d'Angély 30.384; Savigny 1.457; Roussillon 110–11.

⁸⁸ Cluny 5.52.

⁸⁹ St Jean d'Angély 30.384–5.

⁹⁰ Morigny 11; OV 5.324 (Philip I 368 n.1).

⁹¹ Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2.

⁹² St Lambert de Liège 1.46–8; Dinant 1.12–15.

⁹³ St Vincent du Mans 1.190–1; Angers 258–60.

⁹⁴ St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.86; Lérins 311–2; St Chaffre du Monastier 89; Montpellier 550–1; Eneaeme 28–9.

⁹⁵ Marmoutier (Dunois) 141–2.

beneficed land.⁹⁶ A high proportion of the agreements relating to these involved counter-gifts, in which sales were expressed in terms of mutual giving, often with the assurance that the layman was actually disposing of the property as an act of charity. This was obviously done to evade the accusation of simony at a time when the Church's disapproval of the buying and selling of ecclesiastical property was a live issue. One man had already surrendered some of the tithes he owned, perhaps under pressure from reformers.⁹⁷ In Lorraine the first crusader Quino recognized the merit attached to restoring a church benefice to its possessor by ancient right.⁹⁸ In the Chartrain in 1129 William of La Ferté-Vidame admitted that he had held a church 'against God and the safety of his soul'.⁹⁹ The use of counter-gifts technically combined the benefits of an endowment and a sale, but at least one family tried to go further and was turned down sharply by the monks it approached. Geoffrey and Engelelmus of St Savin and their brothers wanted the land they were going to alienate, on which there was a ruined chapel, to become a religious foundation.

They wanted to require the abbot and monks [of Noyers] to found a village there and rebuild the church, but the monk Lancelin [with whom they were negotiating] replied that no agreement of this sort could be made, but that it would be in the power and will of the abbot and monks whether they constructed a village there or not.¹⁰⁰

Endowments, Free Renunciations and Wills

Apprehension enveloped the last stages of preparation like a cloud. Over and above their alienations for cash, many crusaders felt the need to make endowments to religious communities or to renounce claims against them close to or at the moment they were leaving, or in the early stages of the march. Stephen of Blois's anxiety was all too apparent when he gave a wood to the abbey of Marmoutier,

so that God, at the intercession of St Martin and his monks, might pardon me for whatever I have done wrong and lead me on the journey out of my homeland and bring me back healthy and safe, and watch over my wife Adela and our children.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Noyers 262, 276; Lérins 311–12; Azé et Le Genêteil 60 (Anjou (Halphen) 330); Le Ronceray d'Angers 95, 104; St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.568–9; St Vincent du Mans 1.266–7, 301; St Jean d'Angély 30.113–14, 260–1; and possibly St Jean d'Angély 30.388; Domène 91.

⁹⁷ St Vincent du Mans 1.266.

⁹⁸ St Mihiel 191.

⁹⁹ St Père de Chartres 2.511.

¹⁰⁰ Noyers 276.

¹⁰¹ Marmoutier (Dunois) 81.

Robert Burgundio of Sablé expressed the same desire when giving Marmoutier vineyards and a farm, 'so that God may keep me healthy and safe in going and returning',¹⁰² sentiments which were echoed in other charters for Marmoutier drawn up on behalf of one of his knights, Ardouin of Vione,¹⁰³ and a knight of Rillé called Herbert of 'Campus Marini'.¹⁰⁴ Robert of Flanders withdrew his opposition to the grant his sister had made to the abbey of St Thierry-lès-Reims 'for the remission of my sins and my safety and the safety of my wife Clemency'.¹⁰⁵ In 1120 Rainald of Martigné, the bishop of Angers, gave permission to the abbot of St Nicolas d'Angers to place twelve monks in the almonry of Le Geneteil. The abbey promised to appoint an ordained monk to say Mass 'so that God would lead me [the bishop] and my count [of Anjou] out [on crusade] and lead us back healthy and safe'.¹⁰⁶

When Robert Burgundio reached Marmoutier on an early stage of his journey, he asked the monks to pray for him.¹⁰⁷ Miles of Bray made the same request of the monks of his father's foundation of Longpont-sous-Monthéry.¹⁰⁸ Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire and Aimery of Courron endowed the abbey of Pontlevoy on condition that the monks pray each Thursday for their souls and for those of the soldiers killed in the battle of Pontlevoy eighty years before.¹⁰⁹ Robert of Flanders and Bernard Ato of Béziers made gifts to the canons of St Pierre de Lille and the monks of St Guilhem du Désert respectively, in order that God would favour the enterprise in which they were engaged.¹¹⁰ Raymond of St Gilles made an endowment to the cathedral of Le Puy, 'so that as long as I live a candle should burn for me incessantly day and night on the altar before the revered image of the Mother of God [the sacred statue and object of a famous cult at Le Puy]'.¹¹¹ Hugh of Rougemont gave part of a tithe to the abbey of Molesme 'when he wished to become a *Ferosolimitanus* but was uncertain about his return'.¹¹² A cleric, Raymond Eic, gave the abbey of Lézat half of a church on condition that if he returned safe from Jerusalem he would get his gift back to hold of the abbey; if he wished to become a monk the abbot and the community would receive him;

¹⁰² Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.87.

¹⁰³ Marmoutier (Manceau) 91.

¹⁰⁴ Marmoutier (Anjou) 39.

¹⁰⁵ Flanders 67.

¹⁰⁶ Azé and Le Geneteil 64.

¹⁰⁷ Marmoutier (Manceau) 90.

¹⁰⁸ Longpont 184.

¹⁰⁹ Anjou (Halphen) 326.

¹¹⁰ Flanders 63; Gellone 248.

¹¹¹ HGL 5.747.

¹¹² Molesme 2.217.

and if he died the whole of the divine office would be said for him and for all his relations and his name would be inscribed in the obit book among those of the abbey's dead members.¹¹³ In 1101 Eudes of Burgundy, making a gift to the abbey of Molesme, asked 'the brothers to remember him in their prayers to God, so that the vow and journey he was making to Jerusalem should have a good result'¹¹⁴ and he made a will in favour of the abbey, 'so that the brothers should take care assiduously to pray to the Lord for the prosperity of his body and soul'.¹¹⁵ In 1129 Hugh III of Le Puiset gave Tiron a rent of wine each year, which he wanted to be drunk by the brothers on Trinity Sunday, and 'when they hear of my death they will keep my anniversary each year and this wine, which the brothers shall drink on the feast-day of their church during my lifetime, they will have on my anniversary after my death'.¹¹⁶

As we have seen, one way of benefiting from prayers was to put a young relative into a community as an oblate, thus assuring that the family shared in the merits of the office and the community's Masses. At the time of the First Crusade Arnald of Aigurande left 'my nephew Humbald in monastic habit at La Chapelle-Aude in the hands of Eudes the prior'. He also provided Humbald's entry gift.¹¹⁷ Even more efficacious was to make a monastic foundation or establish a church, as eleventh-century pilgrims had done. In 1096 Gilbert of Aalst founded the nunnery of Merhem for his sister Lietgard 'so that he should find a better inheritance in the heavenly Jerusalem'.¹¹⁸ In 1129 Matthew Giraud, who may have been a crusader, established a parish church at Belle-Neue.¹¹⁹

The crusaders' worries help to explain the large number of gifts they made. Leaving aside their foundations of churches, seventy-eight (possibly eighty) records of endowments made before or on departure between 1096 and 1101 survive,¹²⁰ with a further two in

¹¹³ Lézat 17.188–9.

¹¹⁴ Molesme 2.143.

¹¹⁵ Molesme 2.13.

¹¹⁶ Tiron 1.127–8. See also Savoy 2, Preuves, 27.

¹¹⁷ La Chapelle-Aude 82–3.

¹¹⁸ Affligem 11–13.

¹¹⁹ Angers 271–3.

¹²⁰ Auch 57–8; Aureil 21, 51–2 (see 32), 114, 170, 178–9, 192, 199–200; Bèze Chron 392 (Bèze Liber 614); St Flour cxxxv–vi, 'Cantatorium Sancti Huberti' 338–40; Carcassonne 5.155 (2.237); La Charité-sur-Loire 104–5; *Chronique de Parcé* 10; Chaise-le-Vicomte 7; Dinant 1.13; Forez 1.1 (no. 1); Gellone 248; HGL 5.747–8, 749; Anjou (Halphen) 326; LA 580–1; Leire 230; Lézat 17.188–9; Longpont 93, 109–10, 184–5; Lérins 289–90, 311–12; 'Chronicon Affligemense' 415; Marmoutier (Anjou) 39; Marmoutier (Dunois) 56–7 (and see 75), 79–82 (69), 137; Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.87–9, 90–1 (456–7); Molesme 2.84, 143, 217; Brittany (Morice) 1.488, 491; Morigny 19–20; Néronville 310; Noyers 268, 269–70, 273–4; St Florent-

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1107,¹²¹ six in the early 1120s¹²² and three in 1129.¹²³ Sixteen free renunciations of rights unjustly claimed or exercised are known from the time of the First Crusade,¹²⁴ three from 1120¹²⁵ and three from 1129.¹²⁶ There are twenty-four wills made by crusaders before they left for the First Crusade¹²⁷ and two in 1120.¹²⁸ Some crusaders put together a package, with elements of the property concerned to be held by the beneficiary immediately and parts of it to be surrendered after the donor's death. In the Limousin Peter of La Vue gave the priory of Aureil some land. He willed more land, a rent of rye, which had been included in his wife's dowry — this would go to Aureil after her death — and his bed, with blanket, pillow, mattress, bed-clothes and curtain.¹²⁹

The charters of endowment tended to be expressed in terms of penitence and humility. So were the charters of renunciation, only more so. In 1101 Eudes of Burgundy, followed by an entourage of his greatest vassals,

entered the chapter of St Bénigne de Dijon and, with the monks sitting round the room and many members of their household standing by, I corrected the injuries which I had been accustomed to inflict until now. I recognized my fault and, having sought mercy, I asked that I should be

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lès-Saumur (Normandes) 688–9; St Georges de Rennes 269–70; St Jean d'Angély 30.260–1; 33.82–3; St Philibert de Tournus (Juénin) 135 (St Philibert de Tournus (Chifflet), Preuves, 335); St Pierre de la Réole 141; St Père de Chartres 2.628; St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.230; St Vincent de Maçon 315; St Vincent du Mans 1.87, 200; Savigny 1.433–4; Sauxillanges 971, 1045; La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.158; Uzerche 195, 242, 287, 315, 316, 440; Laurence of Liège 498; Flanders 62–3 and possibly 68–70; Vigeois 51, 64, 67–8; A. Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de la Belgique* (Brussels, 1866–1965), 1.602; Riant, 'Un dernier triomphe', 252–4; and probably Valenciennes (600).

¹²¹ Marcigny 79–80; Marmoutier (Anjou) 54.

¹²² Cart Temp 5–6; Oberalteich 110–11; Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.473–4; Noyers 329–32; Le Ronceray d'Angers 1861, 214–15; St Julien de Tours 87–8.

¹²³ Burgundy (Pérard) 224; St Cybard d'Angoulême 93–6; St Père de Chartres 2.610

¹²⁴ Valenciennes (594–7); Flanders 60–2, 66–7; HGL 5.743–6; Brittany (Morice) 1.484 (491); Uzerche 95; St Mihiel 191; St Avit d'Orléans 54; Marmoutier (Dunois) 56–7, 123; St André-le-Bas de Vienne 281; St Bénigne de Dijon 2.174–7; Cluny 5.156–9; Burgundy (Plancher) I, Preuves, xliii–xliv; St Martin de Pontoise 21; and probably Nîmes 293–4. See Chaise-le-Vicomte 25, 347: a right given by a crusader's father and only confirmed on the crusader's deathbed in the East.

¹²⁵ Tiron 2.23–4; St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847) 122 (128); Reims (admin) 1.286.

¹²⁶ Bar 1.42–4 (St Lambert de Liège 1.58–60); Cart Temp 8–10; St Père de Chartres 2.511–12.

¹²⁷ Aureil 192, 193, 199; Chaise-le-Vicomte 6; Huesca 1.148–50; Lérins 311–12; Longpont 121–2, 189–90; Molesme 2.13, 18, 64, 229; Morigny 40; Noyers 271, 274; Roussillon 110–11; St Jean d'Angély 30.384–5, 391; 33.78–9; St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 26–7; Sauxillanges 1045; Sens 2.18; Tulle 416–18 (276–7); Vigeois 51; Uzerche 242.

¹²⁸ Le Ronceray d'Angers 215–17; Mauléon 15–16.

¹²⁹ Aureil 21, 170, 193, 199; and see 192.

absolved. And I promised amendment in future if I should happen to return [from the crusade].¹³⁰

He seems to have arranged another melodramatic ceremony at Gevrey-Chambertin during which he renounced claims he had unjustly imposed on the Cluniac monks there.¹³¹ At about the same time William II of Nevers sought pardon and absolution from Abbot Robert of Molesme for a fire he had started in the village of Molesme.¹³² Solemn renunciations appealed to the flamboyance of the age and could be expressed with verve. In 1096,

so that it should be clear to all with how much devotion he had made [this renunciation], Nivelon of Fréteval made his prévôt Ascelin swear on the relics of the saints that he would knowingly exact or receive no custom or tax from any property belonging to the said obedience [of Marmoutier] or knowingly be violent with respect to anything belonging to it.¹³³

As the moment of departure approached the power that lay in the hands of churchmen, who by excommunicating a recruit could prevent him leaving and nullify all his preparations, led crusaders to give away more than perhaps they would have wanted to surrender in a more normal situation. Anselm II of Ribemont had been in dispute with the abbey of St Amand over rights in what seem to have been newly established peasant settlements. The monks had appealed to the count of Flanders, whose court had found in their favour. Anselm had ignored the judgement and had compounded his offence by building a mill which took custom away from the mills of the monks, by diverting water from the river to run it and by imposing dues on the villagers passing down a nearby road. He had, moreover, pledged this part of what he considered to be his lordship to his seneschal for 120 silver marks. The monks had responded by excommunicating him and by adopting an old last measure when faced by a recalcitrant lord, the humiliation of their relics, in order that Anselm 'should be more and more frightened'. The relics of St Amand and other saints were brought out of the church and exposed, covered with thorns, 'on the ground' in the open air, in the belief that the saint would feel so insulted that he would demand severe retribution from God. What makes this case particularly interesting is that Anselm was no ordinary noble bully. He was a man with a reputation for generosity and probity and he must have felt that he had a good

¹³⁰ St Bénigne de Dijon 2.175.

¹³¹ Cluny 5.156–9.

¹³² Molesme 2.42.

¹³³ Marmoutier (Dunois) 56.

case for what he had done in spite of the court judgement against him. Nevertheless he was brought to heel, probably because he was anxious to crusade; it was said that he was in a hurry to leave for Jerusalem. He was made to come before St Amand's body barefooted, to prostrate himself and to beg mercy for his sin. He was absolved and on the next day he formally renounced his claims. The monks agreed to cancel the pledge-agreement with his seneschal by redeeming it on Anselm's behalf; they were to be repaid within three years from the following Christmas.¹³⁴

On the other hand, the bustle and hurry, and the general atmosphere of penitence and humility, did not prevent some recruits from adopting quite a hard-headed approach to their giving. Bruno of Ré specified in his will that if he should wish to become a monk the property he had left should be treated as his entry gift.¹³⁵ Boso of La Chêze gave away a portion of his wife's dowry; presumably he felt he could part with it more easily than with patrimony.¹³⁶ Rossello left the chapter of Elne a freehold which he had retained after his grandfather and father had already left it to the chapter in their wills, but he specified that it would pass to the canons only if he died without legitimate heirs. He went further and pledged land, which by rights belonged to it already, to the chapter.¹³⁷

Religious Communities

Over the winter of 1095–6, news reached Everard II of Breteuil, who had now been a monk at Marmoutier for eighteen years, that his nephew, Everard III of Le Puiset, 'wanted to go in the army to Jerusalem against the pagans'. The monk Everard sought permission from his abbot to look for his nephew, in order to persuade him to augment an existing Le Puiset endowment for the abbey, and a meeting was arranged near Blois. His journey was made in February 1096 at the latest.¹³⁸ His nephew, whose mother was one of the Monthéry sisters, may have witnessed Pope Urban's proclamation of

¹³⁴ Valenciennes (594–7). For the humiliation of relics, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 23. For Anselm's reputation, see GN Gesta 218; RC 680.

¹³⁵ St Jean d'Angély 33.78–9.

¹³⁶ Aureil 170.

¹³⁷ Roussillon 110–11. When Matthew Giraud established his parish church, he retained half the revenues in his own hands; an example of the rights still claimed by lay patrons in the late 1120s. Angers 271–3.

¹³⁸ Marmoutier (Dunois) 137. The meeting took place during the year before the abbey church was dedicated by Urban II on 10 March 1096. See Becker, *Papst Urban*, 2.446. From dating

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war in the field outside Clermont in the previous November, or the news could have reached him at Chartres late in December, or he could have been attending the meeting summoned by the king to Paris in February. He had obviously made up his mind quickly. It would have been no surprise to him to have discovered that an elderly monk, who happened to be closely related, was scouring the countryside for him and wanted him to be generous to a community with which his family was already closely associated. Once a man had decided to take the cross kinsmen who were churchmen often seem to have been quickly drawn in, especially if they were monks; being celibate they could themselves have no personal claims on family property, whatever their institutions might covet. Before the First Crusade Ramnulf Silvain, archpriest and monk of St Jean d'Angély, was very active when his brother Berald was raising money from his abbey¹³⁹ and Gerald of Landerron's brother Auger, who was prior of St Pierre de la Réole, not only arranged a loan to Gerald from his community, but also agreed to 'hold Gerald's castles and freeholds and woods and the rest with his sons, whom he would rear until the time that he himself would make them knights'.¹⁴⁰ In 1129 William of La Ferté-Vidame renounced claims he had been making against St Père de Chartres in the chamber of his uncle, who was dean of Chartres and monk of St Père; his brother Hugh, who was provost of Chartres cathedral, also played a part in the proceedings.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, Josbert Alboin, who was probably a crusader in 1107, had deceived his uncle, the abbot of Vigeois, and had broken an agreement he had made with him. He now came before his uncle and 'recognized that he had treated him badly'.¹⁴²

Monks who were friends could find themselves involved. The advice of Lancelin, a monk of Noyers resident nearby, was sought by Geoffrey and Engelelmus of St Savin when they wanted to sell property to finance their crusade.¹⁴³ But like the monk Everard of Breteuil religious could be pushy. It looks as though the abbot of Marmoutier made a special journey to Brittany and Anjou while the First Crusade was being planned, visiting Ancenis and Sablé; 'while he was resting in his house there' the lord, Robert Burgundio, made

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clauses in other charters (Marmoutier (Dunois) 56, 139, 141; Marmoutier (Vendômois) 255, 59), it is clear that the abbey dated the year from the day of this dedication.

¹³⁹ St Jean d'Angély 33.111–13.

¹⁴⁰ St Pierre de la Réole 141–2.

¹⁴¹ St Père de Chartres 2.511–12.

¹⁴² Vigeois 62.

¹⁴³ Noyers 275–6.

an endowment for the abbey.¹⁴⁴ When in the spring of 1101 William of Aquitaine's army was mustering near Poitiers, a monk from St Aubin d'Angers asked Herbert of Thouars for a cloak of precious cloth, worth 300 *solidi*, which Herbert was intending to take with him as an easily disposable asset. Herbert had already sought the prayers of the monks of his favourite abbey, St Florent-lès-Saumur, and he refused, but when the monk began to withdraw shamefacedly, he exclaimed : 'We go on the way of God and the 300 *solidi* would have been quickly spent. It would be better to give it up so that we may be helped by the prayers of St Aubin and the monks.'¹⁴⁵

It goes without saying that the decision to pledge or sell property was an extreme measure. Its disposal to a church or religious community was a last resort, a point graphically made in 1100 by Fortun Sanchez and his wife, who were going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and sold freeholds to the bishop and canons of Huesca, 'because no one would give us as much as we thought the freeholds were worth, neither relations nor friends, Christian, Jewish, or Muslim'.¹⁴⁶ But, as Fortun's charter shows, it was often only churches and religious communities which had the funds available, because they were rich or because they could realize cash from the disposal of valuables treasured in their shrines. The canons of Chalon stripped the silver from the altar table of the shrine of St Vincent in their cathedral to provide Savary of Vergy, the uncle of the crusader Geoffrey II of Donzy, with some of the cash he needed to buy his nephew's fief.¹⁴⁷ William of England forced the churches in his kingdom to disgorge their treasures to raise the huge sum of 10,000 silver marks for the *vifgage* of Normandy.¹⁴⁸ Bishop Richer of Verdun, whose brother Bencelinus of Brie took the cross, confiscated valuables from the churches in his diocese.¹⁴⁹ So did Bishop Obert of Liège. Obert's acquisition of the castles of Bouillon and Couvin from Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Mons brought, he maintained, honour to his diocese. His purpose, he wrote, was 'to assure peace and tranquillity for ever, because malefactors living there were vexing the diocese dreadfully with their plundering, robbing and other annoyances'.¹⁵⁰ His method of raising the money infuriated the monks of St Hubert-en-Ardenne, to whom he seemed to be

¹⁴⁴ Brittany (Morice) 1.488; Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.87.

¹⁴⁵ Chaise-le-Vicomte 7.

¹⁴⁶ Huesca 1.106.

¹⁴⁷ Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2.

¹⁴⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 16–18.

¹⁴⁹ Laurence of Liège 498.

¹⁵⁰ St Lambert de Liège 1.47; Dinant 1.12–13; 'Triumphus Sancti Lamberti' 499.

concerned with his own glory . . . He showed the greatest hostility to St Hubert, for through the appropriators he sent he stripped the gold covering from the altar and stole three gold crosses, studded with precious stones.¹⁵¹

He took a silver altar from the abbey of Lobbes.¹⁵² One of his charters, however, provides details of how at least one community was partly repaid. It relates how in exchange the bishop gave the 'poor little church' of SS Marie et Perpétue de Dinant, which had contributed 34 marks, some tolls and rents of his own, together with a yard and a rent the crusader Cono of Montaigu had been persuaded to donate. The bishop also agreed to the purchase of a sales tax on wine which the community had made from another crusader, a man called Walter.¹⁵³ Presumably this was only one of many similar arrangements he made with establishments in his diocese.

The material on the rôle of churchmen as financiers at this early date is inadequate. The religious communities and cathedrals to which crusaders turned are widely scattered, and the number of deals made are in most cases very few. During the preparations for the First Crusade, for which we have enough material to make some comparisons, St Jean d'Angély, St Pierre de la Réole and St Vincent du Mans stand out as centres of finance, with Cluny, Marmoutier, St Chaffre du Monastier and St Victor de Marseille a little way behind. St Jean, Cluny, Marmoutier and probably St Vincent had been visited by Pope Urban in the course of his journey through France, and Cluny, Marmoutier, St Jean and St Victor were major abbeys. Benedictine communities had taken the lead in putting themselves forward as 'asylums of the penitent' for laymen, but that these all happened to be Benedictine houses may be misleading, because Dr Bull has shown that reforming houses of canons regular in the Limousin were also centres of crusading enthusiasm.¹⁵⁴

Nearly seventy religious communities are known to have benefited from the gifts of the first crusaders on departure. They are scattered widely and there is evidence for only a few making substantial gains. Aureil, Marmoutier, Uzerche, Longpont-sous-Monthéry, Molesme, Noyers and St Jean d'Angély head the list, although many of the entries in the cartularies of the Limousin houses of Aureil and Uzerche may refer to pledges and sales under the guise of endow-

¹⁵¹ 'Cantatorium Sancti Huberti' 340.

¹⁵² 'Gesta abbatum Lobbiensium' 318.

¹⁵³ Dinant 1.12–15.

¹⁵⁴ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 259–62.

ments. Somewhat lower down come Sauxillanges, Vigeois, Chaise-le- Vicomte and St Hubert-en-Ardenne. Apart from those mentioned, no community appears to have been a major beneficiary; indeed known centres of crusading fervour like Cluny hardly rate at all, although it should be remembered that Marmoutier, Longpont-sous-Monthéry, Sauxillanges and Vigeois were Cluniac and several other Cluniac abbeys and priories also benefited. When it came to making gifts it seems that crusaders thought chiefly of the intercession of local saints, neighbouring monks and family foundations. In this, as in so many things, their extraordinary initiative was rooted in their daily life and perceptions.

Only three communities, Marmoutier, St Jean d'Angély and St Vincent du Mans, were prominent both as financiers and beneficiaries, and of these Marmoutier was outstanding. This abbey, where Pope Urban had presided over a cross-taking ceremony in the spring of 1096,¹⁵⁵ had at least 114 priories by 1100 and was comparable in size and influence to Cluny, from which it had been reshaped a hundred years before. It was a centre of monastic reform, but it was nevertheless able to maintain close relations with its secular patrons, the counts of Blois, and to nurture others with the more recent masters of Tours, the counts of Anjou.¹⁵⁶ Such a cosy association with lay nobles must have been unusual in a reforming house — a feature of monastic reform was the impulse to break free from secular influence — and it may have made Marmoutier particularly susceptible to the crusade ideal, especially as Count Stephen of Blois was committed to the enterprise and Count Fulk IV of Anjou was also in favour of it. At any rate, it seems to have been an important centre for crusaders and in 1106 it was to include all the faithful engaged in fighting in Palestine in its society of prayer.¹⁵⁷

The First Crusade was preached during an agricultural depression, the consequence of several years of drought, and land values, already low, were weakened further as properties were put on the market by those intending to go.¹⁵⁸ It has often been said that ecclesiastical institutions were therefore the real beneficiaries of the early crusading movement, because they could pick up land relatively cheaply. There are grounds for questioning whether they were

¹⁵⁵ GAD 101.

¹⁵⁶ S. Farmer, *Communities of St Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca and London, 1991), 65–186; for the number of priories see p. 123.

¹⁵⁷ Marmoutier (Tourangeau) 45–6.

¹⁵⁸ GN Gesta 141; OV 5.16.

conscious of this at the time. It is noticeable that crusaders showed extreme reluctance to enter into financial arrangements with the religious houses founded by their own families. Magnates could occasionally treat these foundations roughly. Just before leaving in 1096 Godfrey of Bouillon restored the priory of St Dagobert de Stenay, which had been wrecked by his own forces,¹⁵⁹ and a consequence of the pledging of Bouillon to the bishop of Liège by him was the bishop's expulsion of the monks of St Hubert-en-Ardenne from the priory there, which had been founded by his grandfather. When his mother, Ida of Lorraine, discovered this, she sent for the abbot of St Hubert, who played on her distress, threatening Godfrey and his uncle, who had agreed to the bishop's decision, with excommunication, a sentence that could well have prevented Godfrey leaving. Ida's response was to give St Hubert the church of Sansareux to erect into a priory and she endowed it with another church as well.¹⁶⁰ But founders or descendants tended to be exceptionally attached to their foundations. In one of his charters for the abbey of Marmoutier Stephen of Blois described his family's involvement with the community at length and averred rather touchingly that 'if thus far I have not protected or helped the abbey as assiduously as I ought, I have taken care not to offend it seriously; nor have I molested it much'.¹⁶¹ The only example I have found of a man raising money from a house of this sort, and it is by no means certain, involved Duke Alan Fergent of Brittany, who had inherited a close family relationship with the monks of Ste Croix de Quimperlé, which had been founded by his grandfather, Alan of Cornouaille. Alan Fergent exchanged some land with the monks of Ste Croix for a counter-gift, 'because on the day I gave them this I needed money'; his charter is undated, but the arrangement was perhaps linked to his preparations for the First Crusade.¹⁶² Otherwise, in every case for which I have evidence — relating to the communities of Chaise-le-Vicomte, Longpont-sous-Monthéry, Marmoutier, Morigny, Nogent-le-Rotrou, St Laud d'Angers, St Michel de Cons and St Saveur de Lohéac — crusaders from the founding families confined themselves to making endowments in return for prayer or leaving property in their wills. Although it is possible that some of the charters of endowment were masking sales, it looks as though

¹⁵⁹ Lorraine 502–3.

¹⁶⁰ 'Cantatorium Sancti Huberti' 338–40.

¹⁶¹ Marmoutier (Dunois) 80.

¹⁶² Brittany (ducs) 61. For his relations with Ste Croix, see Brittany (ducs) 44–5, 52–4, 58–61.

crusaders desisted from entering into financial arrangements with *their* communities and this suggests that they thought such deals would harm them. In the long run, of course, the religious must have benefited, but in the short they may have perceived only over-extension and economic damage. Perhaps they entered into the agreements they did because they had been encouraged by the pope to do so.

A reluctance on the part of patrons and friends to risk the finances of religious communities, together with the natural desire of land-owners to prevent property passing into church hands and out of the land market for ever, helps to explain why 16 per cent (five, perhaps six) of the surviving pledges of the time of the First Crusade¹⁶³ and at least 13 per cent (six, perhaps seven) of the sales¹⁶⁴ were agreed not with churchmen at all but with lay men and women. The number of deals may not seem impressive, but it should be remembered that the surviving records are almost entirely ecclesiastical and that it would have been rare for an agreement negotiated among lay people to have surfaced in them. This indicates quite a lot of activity in the secular world devoted to raising money for the crusade and makes one wonder whether we are not glimpsing the tip of an iceberg. If so, we may have overestimated the part played by churchmen as financiers at this time.

Families

Ten per cent (three, perhaps four) of the pledges¹⁶⁵ and at least 9 per cent (four, perhaps five) of the sales¹⁶⁶ involved the close relations of crusaders. It is notable that some of these were female, including sisters who could perhaps call on their husbands' assets at a time when the male members of the family were short of cash. The lands of a family from the Savanès near Auch, which had been divided in the late eleventh century between three brothers and two sisters, had been reconsolidated in the hands of Bertrand of St Jean, the son of

¹⁶³ GAD 101; Cluny 5.108; Valenciennes (595); OV 4.338; 5.26, 32, 208, 278–80 (William of Jumièges 274–7; Hugh of Flavigny 475); and possibly Auch 65.

¹⁶⁴ Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2; Montpellier 545, 550–1 (557); Morigny 11; OV 5.324 (Philip I 368 n.1); St Laon de Thouars 32; and possibly Auch 65.

¹⁶⁵ GAD 101; Cluny 5.108; OV 5.26, 32, 208, 278–80 (William of Jumièges 274–5; Hugh of Flavigny 475); and possibly Auch 65.

¹⁶⁶ Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2; Montpellier 545, 550–1; St Laon de Thouars 32; and possibly Auch 65.

one of the sisters called Saure, by the time he joined the crusade of 1147. A chain of accidents had brought this about, among them the decisions of two of his uncles to go to Jerusalem, perhaps because they had taken the cross; one had sold his share to Saure and the other had pledged his land to her.¹⁶⁷

The influence of families on recruitment, and the culture of dependence and cooperation which flourished in them, was bound to involve kindred in the raising of cash. The disposal of property was anyway something that directly involved them all, since what was being alienated was patrimony in which they had an actual or potential interest; this is clear enough in the way they would record their agreement in pledge- and sales-charters. The lists of their names confirm the conclusions already reached in a study of the *laudatio parentum* in Touraine.¹⁶⁸ They are nearly all of close relations, those whom the pilgrim Fortun Sanchez and his wife referred to as 'totos nostros meliores parentes et amicos'.¹⁶⁹ mothers, wives, brothers and sisters (and their spouses), children, uncles and close cousins. *Douceurs* had sometimes to be offered to assure their agreement.

The terms of some endowments were so involved that they could have led to trouble. Gerald of 'Tuda', a knight of Montmoreau who was going on the 1101 expedition, left St Jean d'Angély a bordery in his will. But no sooner had he departed than his brother Itier, who also took the cross, gave the bordery outright to the abbey with the agreement of a third brother called Peter, at the same time pledging two others. The new agreement specified that Gerald could not recover the original bordery, which he had had no intention of handing over in his lifetime, unless his brother Peter repaid half the loan.¹⁷⁰ We do not know the results of this arrangement, but the potential for future disputes is obvious. Even in more straightforward cases families could make difficulties and question the arrangements which had been made. While one mother sold property on her son's behalf,¹⁷¹ another was reluctant to sanction a borrower's pledge.¹⁷² Hugh II of Matheflon held back tithes which his father had sold for 1,100 *solidi* to the abbey of St Nicolas d'Angers.¹⁷³ The son of Robert Dalmace of Collanges, who crusaded in 1107, struggled for twenty years to retain a *mansus* his father had sold to Cluny.¹⁷⁴ Peter of

¹⁶⁷ Auch 65–6.

¹⁶⁸ White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints*, *passim*.

¹⁶⁹ Huesca 1.106.

¹⁷⁰ St Jean d'Angély 30.391.

¹⁷¹ *Die Reichskanzler* 3.88–9.

¹⁷² Noyers 266.

¹⁷³ Azé et Le Geneteil 60–1.

¹⁷⁴ Cluny 5.199, 355–6.

Chevanville seized a vineyard his crusading brother Raimbert had given the priory of Longpont-sous-Monthéry and pledged it; the monks had to spend ten *solidi* to get it back.¹⁷⁵ Sometimes one has the impression that members of a family were determined to squeeze what they could out of a situation. When William Miscemalum sold a tithe, his lord and his mother got douceurs, but a cousin, Achard of Born, himself probably a crusader needing cash, complained that the tithe had been sold without his permission and had to be given 100 *solidi*.¹⁷⁶ When Joscelin of Lèves sold serfs with their land to the abbey of St Père de Chartres, he arranged payments for his brothers, but the youngest of them, a boy who had at first agreed, objected later to the amount he had been given.¹⁷⁷

Opposition could be even more vehement when it came to gifts or testamentary bequests, which were often made in an emotional state and must sometimes have reduced the kindred to despair. A family could respond generously on hearing of a crusader's death, as in the case of the mother of Guy Pinellus, who had left two shops to Longpont.

Affected by great sadness as the mother of a son, she took care to carry out diligently what her son had ordered her to do when he left. Coming before the altar of St Mary she handed over the shops.¹⁷⁸

But the news could set off passionate, even hysterical, resistance. The widow of Geoffrey Jordan of Vendôme repossessed a church which Geoffrey had given 'out of his patrimony' and with her consent to the abbey of La Trinité de Vendôme; she had to be excommunicated to force her to release it.¹⁷⁹ Berald Silvain had made elaborate arrangements to cover the agreement of his kindred when he sold mills, which were already pledged, to St Jean d'Angély.

The monks of St Jean held what had been sold to them without challenge while Berald Silvain lived and remained in this region. But after he had taken the road [to Jerusalem] and had died there arose Bertrand son of Gerard, who was married to Berald's daughter, and he challenged everything.

Bertrand refused to accept the jurisdiction of the abbot in the case and it had to be transferred to the local seigneurial court.¹⁸⁰ Wills

¹⁷⁵ Longpont 109–10.

¹⁷⁶ St Jean d'Angély 30.114.

¹⁷⁷ St Père de Chartres 2.274–7. For another example of a dispute, see St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847) 128–30.

¹⁷⁸ Longpont 121.

¹⁷⁹ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.159–60.

¹⁸⁰ St Jean d'Angély 33.111–13.

could cause particular trouble, perhaps because the relations had hoped the crusader would survive, perhaps because they were used to ignoring testamentary provisions anyway. Garsadon of Etréchy had left the village of Gomerville, which was already in pledge, to the abbey of Morigny. The report of his death sparked a furious reaction in spite of the fact that the abbey had been founded by his father. His mother Adelaide, who had approved of his will, now changed her mind. His first cousin's husband Stephen took up post in the village, swearing angrily that he would kill the monks. His brother-in-law Bovard fired Gomerville and went on to burn down a grange and barns with cattle in them which belonged to the monks.¹⁸¹

There was obviously a need to consult members of a family fully and to involve them in one's decisions. This is illustrated in two charters of Robert I Burgundio of Sablé. Robert had made two gifts to Marmoutier, one of them on departure. It looks as though he had wanted to add further donations but had been prevented by his younger son, another Robert, whom he was leaving in charge of Sablé. When Robert I stopped at Marmoutier on his way to the East he confirmed his earlier gifts, presenting the prior, who was in charge while the abbot was away, with a gold ring given him by his daughter, but he then added fresh endowments — obviously those he had wanted to give while he was still at home — stating that they should be separately listed 'because my son Robert has not conceded them'. The gifts, in other words, were qualified by the need for the younger Robert's consent and Robert I sent letters to his son, asking him to confirm them. He wanted it to be recorded that since his elder son, Rainald, had agreed to authorize all alms gifts he should make on this journey his younger son would have no fee for confirming the new benefaction. The prior handed the ring back to him, as a symbol to remind those who were present of his new gift. The passing back and forth of the ring was typical of the time; a little ceremony of this sort underlined for witnesses the seriousness of Robert's spontaneous decision.¹⁸²

The close interest taken by kindred is demonstrated by the facts that of the surviving agreements with churchmen, 22 per cent (seven) of the pledges and at least 25 per cent (eleven, possibly thirteen) of the sales made by first crusaders were of churches,

¹⁸¹ Morigny 40.

¹⁸² Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.86–91.

tithe, and other ecclesiastical property, as were, incidentally, at least 21 per cent (seventeen) of their endowments.¹⁸³ I have already pointed out that the ownership of these was becoming precarious as the movement for church reform gathered pace. An eighth pledge concerned property to which the lender already had claims¹⁸⁴ and a ninth related to land which had already been left the lender in a brother's will.¹⁸⁵ At least 11 per cent (five) of the sales were of lands already pledged which, if *vifgaged*, would no longer have been in family hands anyway.¹⁸⁶ If one also takes into account the renunciations of disputed claims, at least 43 per cent of all surviving disposals for cash at the time of the First Crusade were of assets of doubtful value. So it seems that sensible policies were being adopted when it came to alienation. In the terms expressed in the charters we must be hearing echoes of conferences of the family summoned to decide whether assets could be saved and, if not, what type of property should be offered for pledge, or sale, or as a gift. When Guy Tortus of Rochefort-sur-Loire sold his fief to a nephew in 1120 he averred that he had no closer relation, but he had presumably decided, after discussion with the kin, to sell his property within the family.¹⁸⁷ One conference is recorded in a Breton document. The first crusader Thibald of Ploasme informed his brother William that if he was not helped financially he would have to sell his inheritance. William did not want Thibald's share of the estate to be lost, so he raised money from the monks of St Nicolas d'Angers by selling part of his share of a mill which was already pledged.¹⁸⁸ Apparent acts of generosity by relations may have been made to prevent the degradation of patrimonies. In southern Italy Tancred Marchisus was subsidized by his guardian and so did not have to sell his inheritance.¹⁸⁹ Before Fantin and his son Godfrey left in the crusading force led by Herbert of Thouars in 1101 they came to a complicated arrangement by which Fantin left some land to his wife

¹⁸³ La Trinite de Vendôme Cart 2.158; Vigeois 67; Anjou (Halphen) 326; Molesme 2.217; Lézat 188–9; Carcassonne 5.155; Savigny 1.433–4; LA 580–1; Gellone 248; HGL 5.749; Noyers 268; St Georges de Rennes 269–70; Forez 1.1 (no.1); St Jean d'Angély 1.260–1; St Père de Chartres 2.628; St Vincent du Mans 1.200; Sauxillanges 1045. For similar donations after 1102, see Le Ronceray d'Angers 186, 214; Noyers 329–32; St Julien de Tours 87–8; Burgundy (Pérard) 224. For ecclesiastical property pledged and sold, see above noted 76, 96.

¹⁸⁴ Roussillon 110–11.

¹⁸⁵ St Jean d'Angély 30.391.

¹⁸⁶ St Vincent du Mans 1.190–1 (193); Brittany (Morice) 1.490; St Jean d'Angély 30.113–14; 33.111–13; Cluny 5.202–3. A high proportion of the wills made during the crusade concerned pledged property and churches and tithes.

¹⁸⁷ Marmoutier (Anjou) 66.

¹⁸⁸ Brittany (Morice) 1.490.

¹⁸⁹ RC 606.

and to Godfrey, who then sold his share of it to his mother.¹⁹⁰ Maternal uncles often had an interest in protecting their sisters' children, as opposed to paternal uncles who were potential competitors. Savary of Vergy bought the fief of his nephew, the crusader Geoffrey II of Donzy, and then pledged it for no less than 8,000 *solidi*, at the same time renouncing rights he had claimed, to raise the money to pay him.¹⁹¹ The co-lord of Amboise, Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire, pledged his lordship to the husband of an aunt on his father's side of the family, Robert of Roches-Corbon, but in addition was given a substantial cash sum by his maternal uncle.¹⁹²

It is clear that the costs of the venture were a cause for concern for the crusaders' families and that they approached the issue of the disposal of patrimonial land with care. But in their preparations did they believe that future material benefit would justify an investment of this sort? A reason commonly given nowadays for the crusading impulse, rooted in a historical interpretation of the attitudes which are believed to have prevailed in the European countryside, is that it was an economic safety valve. Rising population, it is maintained, was forcing land-owning families to take measures to prevent the subdivision of their estates, either through the practice of primogeniture or through a primitive method of birth-control by which only one male in each generation was allowed to marry. These family strategies destabilized society and led to a surplus of young men with no prospects, for whom adventure, spoil and land overseas were attractions. Individuals were encouraged to make themselves scarce and crusading was an appropriate way for someone to reduce the burdens his family was facing. This explanation of recruitment is intelligent supposition, but no more than that, and the evidence does not support it.¹⁹³ There is not even any justification for the proposition that younger sons went on crusade more commonly than older ones. The picture of a family strategy centring on the departure of unwanted males is probably a myth, because having a crusader in it must have cost a family more than it would have had to spend if the individual had stayed at home; and even if anyone had been fool enough to think in 1096 that crusading would be a profitable and

¹⁹⁰ St Laon de Thouars 32.

¹⁹¹ Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2.

¹⁹² GAD 101.

¹⁹³ A throw-away remark by G. Duby (*La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1971), 334–5) has been amazingly influential, considering the fact that it rests on the basis of one family and two charters (Cluny 5.59, 475–82), and is itself unprovable.

relatively painless venture, such an attitude would have been considered madness after the experiences the early armies underwent in Asia. The only family strategy revealed by the evidence is one evolved after the decision to crusade had been made and it was designed collectively by the kindred, including relations on the mother's side, to reduce the costs as far as possible and somehow to keep land to which there was good title in family hands.

Security at Home

Family loyalty and support was a two-way affair, of course. The crusader himself could not ignore his responsibilities to his dependants and kindred, however fired up or worried he was by the prospect ahead, and issues which concerned any well-to-do land-owner were the care and safety of his relations and the management of his estates while he was away. I will suggest in the next chapter that in 1095–6 it was feared that disorder would spread in the absence of so many of the great lords on whom the maintenance of stability depended, but the nature of society also meant that problems could arise very close to home, within families themselves, in which instincts of cooperation could be at war with ambitions for property and standing, particularly if the head of the family was unlucky enough to have bred only a daughter. In 1120 Baldwin of Vern d'Anjou, who was off to Palestine with Count Fulk, came to a carefully worded arrangement with his brother Rual 'concerning his land and all his things and his wife with his only daughter', Esteial. While he was away his lands and rents, which were detailed exhaustively, were to be divided between his brother on one side and his wife and daughter on the other. If he, Baldwin, should die on the crusade, his wife was to enjoy her share of the estate until she remarried or until their daughter married. If his wife should remarry before the daughter, her new husband would have charge of the land and the girl, provided her choice had been governed by 'the advice and agreement of friends and lords'. But as soon as the daughter should marry all the property, except for the dowry of Baldwin's mother, which Baldwin seems to have shared with her, was to be divided between Esteial and Rual; and the mother's dower land was also to be shared by them after her death. If Esteial should die while Baldwin was on crusade, all the property would pass to Rual, although Baldwin's wife was to have the lands settled on her on

marriage. Rual promised always to deal faithfully with Baldwin and the two women, never to try to take away property to which they had a right and to aid them against anyone who injured them 'even to making war himself'. The agreement, which demonstrates clearly the threat posed by a younger, and probably unmarried, brother to a crusader's wife and daughter and the need to take steps to counter it while the crusader was thousands of miles away, was witnessed by ten men and was guaranteed by Baldwin's immediate lord.¹⁹⁴

The fact was that although Pope Urban had obliged the Church to protect crusaders' lands (and probably their families) it was not yet, and indeed was never to be, strong enough to do this effectively. And anyway its responsibilities and functions had not been properly defined. In 1107 the crusader Hugh II of Le Puiset felt extremely threatened by a castle thrown up on an estate, partly allodial, partly a tenancy in his lordship, by Rotrou of Perche, the count of Mortagne who had himself been on the First Crusade; Rotrou was disputing Hugh's rights over this property. Because the resolution of such a case involved a judicial duel and the Church was barred from making that sort of judgement, Bishop Ivo of Chartres remitted it to the court of the county of Blois, where Hugh lost. But matters got worse, violence ensued, and Hugh's tenant was captured by Rotrou, who claimed that the case had nothing to do with a crusader's rights. Hugh appealed to the pope, but the confusion in ecclesiastical circles was manifest. Ivo of Chartres, one of the greatest canonists of the age, was clearly at sea. Instead of dealing with the matter himself, he had handed it over to a secular court and when the pope reallocated the case to him he pointed out that churchmen could not agree on a sentence, 'stating that this law of the Church protecting the goods of knights going to Jerusalem was new; and that they did not know whether the protection applied only to their properties or also applied to their fortifications'.¹⁹⁵ The importance of this issue is underlined by the fact that the First Lateran Council legislated on it in 1123, taking crusaders' 'houses, families, and all their goods into the protection of St Peter and the Roman church, as was established by our lord Pope Urban' and threatening to excommunicate those who disturbed them.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Le Ronceray d'Angers 215–17.

¹⁹⁵ Ivo of Chartres, 'Epistolae', cols. 170–4, 176–7. The pope was in Chartres in April 1107. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* 1.729.

¹⁹⁶ *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* 167–8.

Crusaders anyway felt safer taking their own measures. The count of Maine, Helias of La Flèche, who took the cross in 1096, stayed behind in the end to defend his lands from a threat posed by King William II of England, who was now in control of Normandy.¹⁹⁷ In 1120 Fulk of Anjou seems to have put his county under the protection of King Henry I of England, with whom he had entered into a marriage alliance.¹⁹⁸ Geoffrey of Le Louet put his wife into the care of the nuns of Le Ronceray d'Angers for a fee, drawn from her own marriage settlement; he became a *confrater* of the nunnery and promised a supplement to the sum as an entry gift should she wish to become a nun herself.¹⁹⁹ Fulk of Le Plessis-Macé gave rents and a tithe to the nuns in return for their agreement to look after his daughter for three years. If he should not return, they were to allow her to marry or become a nun 'according to her will and that of her brothers and other friends'. If she should decide not to enter the community he promised the nuns one of his nieces as an oblate and he guaranteed her entry gift.²⁰⁰ A touching arrangement was negotiated by Hugh Rufus of Champallement, a recruit to the crusade of 1147, who had a very sick or disabled brother called Guy. Hugh made a grant of property to the monks of Corbigny, from the rents of which Guy was to be provided with a pension in cash and kind, payable at fixed times in the year. The monks would bury him in their cemetery should he die.²⁰¹

Just as vital to the interests of crusaders were the arrangements they had to make for the administration of their estates in what were bound to be long absences. If the terms of their pledge agreements have anything to do with their expectations, they were realistic in planning for a long campaign in 1096. In 1120 Fulk of Le Plessis-Macé was allowing for the fact that he might be away for three years; so was the Poitevin knight R. Gabard.²⁰² When senior ecclesiastics were going colleagues could help out: in 1101 Bishop Peter of Limoges took charge of the diocese of Périgueux in Rainald of Thiviers's absence²⁰³ and William of Montfort-l'Amaury, the bishop of Paris, left his diocese in the charge of three of his senior clergy.²⁰⁴ Threats to local churches, in fact, could come from those who should have been most concerned to protect them. While the bishop of Angers was on crusade with the count of Anjou in 1120, the count's

¹⁹⁷ OV 5.228–32.

¹⁹⁸ WMGR 2.495.

¹⁹⁹ Le Ronceray d'Angers 213.

²⁰⁰ Le Ronceray d'Angers 213–15.

²⁰¹ Corbigny 6–7.

²⁰² Mauléon 15–16.

²⁰³ Limoges 18–19.

²⁰⁴ Paris 1.153–4.

own prévôts broke a long-standing agreement that adulterers and usurers (technically subject to courts Christian) should be judged jointly by the prévôt and the archdeacon and that the profits of justice should be shared between them.²⁰⁵ As far as the laity were concerned, members of the family or neighbours or vassals could be made responsible. During the First Crusade Raymond of St Gilles left his eldest son in charge of his lands,²⁰⁶ as did Eudes of Burgundy,²⁰⁷ Rainald of Château-Gontier²⁰⁸ and Miles of Bray; in 1101 Miles entrusted his estate to Guy Trousseau of Montlhéry, who had run away from Antioch three years before.²⁰⁹ In 1129 Fulk of Anjou and his companion Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire²¹⁰ made similar arrangements; like Raymond of St Gilles in 1096, neither intended to return. On the other hand, Hugh Guernonatus, the prévôt of Blois, crusaded in 1096 in company with his eldest son Guarin and left his second son, Peter, in charge of his estate.²¹¹ Robert Burgundio of Sablé also left his second son, Robert, in control; his elder son Rainald did not crusade with him, but he was already established in his wife's fief of Craon and seems to have retained some say in his younger brother's decisions.²¹² Aimery Michael was to look after the lands of his brother Robert, who was planning to crusade in the following of Nivelon of Fréteval.²¹³ The brothers Geoffrey and Engelhelm of St Savin entrusted their affairs to their two other brothers, Aimery and Hugh,²¹⁴ and Gerald of Landerron, as we have seen, left his castles and sons in the care of his brother Auger, the prior of St Pierre de la Réole.²¹⁵ In 1096 Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire left his castle at Amboise in the custody of his aunt's husband.²¹⁶

Guy Pinellus, who seems to have been a townsman, gave his mother the power to administer his property.²¹⁷ It was quite common for wives to manage estates in their husbands' absences. Adela of England ruled the dominions of Stephen of Blois and Stephen wrote to her regularly. Two of his letters survive, in one of which he reminded her 'to act well and manage your land excellently and treat your children and subjects honestly, as becomes you'.²¹⁸

²⁰⁵ Angers 246–7.

²⁰⁶ Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*, 22, 34.

²⁰⁷ Cluny 5.157; St Bénigne de Dijon 2.175.

²⁰⁸ CGCA 'Additamenta' 149.

²⁰⁹ Longpont 184.

²¹⁰ GAD 115–6.

²¹¹ Marmoutier (Dunois) 141.

²¹² Marmoutier (Manceau) 87–91.

²¹³ Marmoutier (Dunois) 139–40.

²¹⁴ Noyers 275–6.

²¹⁵ St Pierre de la Réole 141–2.

²¹⁶ GAD 101.

²¹⁷ Longpont 121.

²¹⁸ Kb 152; the letters are on pp. 138–40, 149–52. See Kb 138, where there is a reference to a letter which must have been lost. For an example of Adela in charge, see Marmoutier (Dunois) 147.

Clemency of Burgundy, the wife of Robert of Flanders, had charge of his county while he was away, although she seems to have been a less successful regent than Adela.²¹⁹ In 1107 Walter of Montsoreau's wife managed his estate; Walter wrote to her from Apulia, validating his message with 'certain signs'.²²⁰ In 1120 Eremburge of Maine ran the county of Anjou while her husband Fulk was on crusade.²²¹

On the other hand, in 1101 Guy of Bré gave custody of his land and the hand of his daughter Stephana to a neighbour, Oliver of Lastours, whose father and uncle had been on the expedition of 1096–9. In this case departure on crusade gave Guy, who had plenty of relations, the opportunity to settle property on his daughter and her future husband.²²² Geoffrey of Issoudun left his castle in the hands of one of his vassals.²²³ Hugh I of Gallardon entrusted his castle and daughter to his subjects.²²⁴ In 1120 a Poitevin knight left his lands under the patronage of St Peter and in the custody of the bishop of Poitiers.²²⁵ Sometimes, therefore, there was no one in a family considered capable or trustworthy enough to take over, but in general it is the collective decision-making and cooperation within the kindred which stand out. Family traditions may have triggered the crusaders' original responses. Group loyalty within the family created the conditions which made it easier for them to carry out what they had promised.

Departure

Occasionally we catch glimpses of men just before or at the point of leaving: Stephen of Blois with his wife 'at the castle called Coulommiers, wishing to go to Jerusalem with the army of the Christians . . . [and] preparing what was necessary for my journey';²²⁶ Robert Burgundio in his castle at Sablé, 'when I wished to go to Jerusalem

²¹⁹ See, for instance, Kb 142–3; Afflighem 19–20. For problems in Flanders, see below pp. 145–6.

²²⁰ Noyers 275. See Marmoutier (Anjou) 54. When Norgeot I of Toucy fell ill in Jerusalem, probably on pilgrimage in 1110, he confessed his sins to the patriarch, in particular an oppressive custom he had imposed against the interests of the monks of Fleury, 'but, hearing that penitence was fruitless unless it was followed by amendment, he sent letters to his wife and men, ordering them to abstain from imposing these bad customs'. *Gallia Christiana* 12, Instrumenta, 107–8.

²²¹ OV 6.310.

²²² Uzerche 210, 362, 927. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 278.

²²³ Aureil 161.

²²⁴ St Martin de Pontoise 470 n. 920. See also the careful arrangements made by Philip of Le Perche-Goët before his departure in 1140. St Pierre de la Couture 55–6.

²²⁵ Mauléon 15–16.

²²⁶ Marmoutier (Dunois) 80.

and was preparing what was needed for my journey';²²⁷ Boso of La Chèze and his brother Rainald 'in the tower of Laron on the day [they] set off for Jerusalem';²²⁸ Peter of La Vue outside the choir of the priory church of Aureil;²²⁹ Astanove of Fézensac in the chapter of the canons of the cathedral of Auch;²³⁰ Miles of Bray in the chapter-house of his family's foundation of Longpont-sous-Monthéry;²³¹ and in 1120 Landolt, a knight of the bishop of Eichstätt, before St Peter's altar in the abbey of Oberalteich.²³² According to the crusading chaplain Fulcher of Chartres many leave-takings were tearful, with husbands assuring their wives that they would return and their wives convinced that they would not.²³³ When Herbert of Thouars was ready to leave his castle in 1101 he received the abbot of St Florent-lès-Saumur. He asked for the prayers of the monks, of whom he was a *confrater*, and he confirmed a will he had made in favour of his family's foundation of Chaise-le-Vicomte, a daughter house of St Florent; he desired to be buried there. After this he went to Poitiers to be given the symbols of pilgrimage by the bishop. The meetings at Thouars and Poitiers were emotional, with everyone in tears. Herbert then proceeded to the 'Royal Meadow' near Poitiers where the Poitevin army of William of Aquitaine was gathering.²³⁴

We sometimes come across other crusaders travelling to the mustering stations. Ansellus and Hugh of Méry and their cousin Simon dined with the monks at their family's foundation of Lassicourt, near Bar-sur-Aube,²³⁵ which suggests that from Méry-sur-Seine they had followed the river south to Troyes and were now going on to Chaumont, perhaps to join other parties at Dijon or Besançon. Hugh and Norgeot of Toucy lodged at Châtillon-sur-Seine,²³⁶ which meant that they had been riding east from their home; probably they now intended to turn south and make for Dijon. Robert Burgundio rode, as we have seen, from Sablé to Marmoutier near Tours.²³⁷

The Flemish army probably mustered in 1096 at Lille, where Count Robert issued a charter which was witnessed by a large number of castellans and lords, some of whom must have come to

²²⁷ Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.87. In 1129 Hugh III of Le Puiset was at the castle of Le Puiset with 'all the court of Le Puiset, which was then plenary'. Tiron 1.128.

²²⁸ Aureil 170.

²²⁹ Aureil 21.

²³⁰ Auch 57.

²³¹ Longpont 184.

²³² Oberalteich 110.

²³³ FC 162–3.

²³⁴ Chaise-le-Vicomte 341.

²³⁵ Molesme 2.229.

²³⁶ Molesme 2.84.

²³⁷ Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.88–91.

see him off, others to travel with him: among them were four of those who can be found a few days later in his company when he stopped at the abbey of St Thierry near Rheims.²³⁸ But we can only guess about the places where most of the contingents gathered. Presumably Robert of Normandy, who led a force including Normans, Bretons and English,²³⁹ summoned men to Rouen, Raymond of St Gilles's forces mustered at St Gilles and Stephen of Blois's knights at Chartres.

One can trace the lines of the march to Constantinople of some of the larger contingents. Perhaps it was the army of Raymond of St Gilles and Adhémar of Monteil which was seen passing through Cremona during October 1096.²⁴⁰ It had opted to take the old pilgrim road through Dalmatia to the via Egnatia, although the journey proved hard, with progress slowed by the large numbers of the poor accompanying the army and by the need to take precautions against harassment by bandits. Raymond of St Gilles, who was elderly, was always the last to reach camp, frequently in the middle of the night, after spending the day riding up and down the column rounding up stragglers.²⁴¹

After the sight we had of Robert of Flanders near Rheims he is next to be found at Pontarlier. By then he had been joined by the forces of the brothers-in-law Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois²⁴² — the most suitable meeting point would have been Besançon — and the three leaders probably crossed the Alps by the Great St Bernard Pass. Once in Italy, they intended to march south and cross the Adriatic before joining the via Egnatia. They proceeded to Lucca, where they met the pope and received his blessing, and to Rome, where they were attacked by supporters of the anti-pope Wibert of Ravenna while praying in St Peter's Basilica. They then travelled through Campagna and southern Italy to Bari, where they venerated the relics of St Nicholas.²⁴³ By now it was late November and they had been on the road for at least two months. The forces of Bohemond of Taranto and of Hugh the Great of Vermandois, who had also come from France by way of Rome, had already crossed the Adriatic. Robert of Flanders

²³⁸ Flanders 63. The four were Baldwin of Ghent; Roger of Lille, castellan of Lille; Onulf, Robert's seneschal; and Cono, Robert's chaplain.

²³⁹ FC 159–60.

²⁴⁰ 'Annales Cremonenses' 800.

²⁴¹ RA 36–7.

²⁴² Hugh of Flavigny 475. Does the grant in Cluny 5.63–4, in the presence of Eudes of Burgundy and William of Nevers at Autun, date from the mustering of the crusade of 1101?

²⁴³ FC 163–7.

followed them at once, after sending home relics he was given by Duke Roger of Apulia.²⁴⁴ Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois decided to winter in Calabria and only embarked on Easter Day (5 April) 1097. They put to sea 'to the sound of many trumpets', in a noisy display which would be repeated many times in the course of crusading history.²⁴⁵

Godfrey of Bouillon's army of Lorrainers and northern Frenchmen followed the third traditional pilgrim route to Constantinople, one already taken by the earlier crusade armies of Walter Sansavoir and Peter the Hermit, the old 'Bavarian road' through southern Germany and Hungary into Byzantine territory at Belgrade and then through the Balkans. This itinerary and that through Italy to Bari and across the Adriatic were to be used again by crusade forces in 1100–1.²⁴⁶ but the earliest of the armies of the third wave, that of the Lombards, took a new road, marching through Carniola to follow the river Save to Belgrade.²⁴⁷

Whichever pilgrim road they marched, as the crusaders left western Europe they disappeared from sight. There were occasional letters or messages home.²⁴⁸ From as early as the summer of 1096, when the first armies were broken up in Hungary, a stream of deserters was trickling back. Sometimes this must have become a flood, as when large numbers of the poor left southern Italy in the autumn; 'fearing future poverty, they sold their bows and took up again their pilgrims' staffs and ignobly returned home'.²⁴⁹ Others deserted in the following April, demoralized by a disaster that occurred when they were embarking at Bari and one of the ships, which must have been grossly overloaded, broke up just after sailing.²⁵⁰ The most significant group of defectors consisted of those who fled from Antioch in the summer of 1098 and helped to persuade the Emperor Alexius to return to Constantinople from central Asia Minor with his army of Greeks and western reinforcements.²⁵¹ It must have been in the interest of these men to paint a very pessimistic picture of the way things were going.

But in truth no one in the West knew much of what was happening. A man who had witnessed the surmounting of the crisis in

²⁴⁴ Kb 142–3.

²⁴⁵ FC 167–72.

²⁴⁶ Garsadon of Etréchy died at Cluses, near Chambéry, and the army he was with must have been intending to cross the Alps by the Mont Cenis Pass. Morigny 19.

²⁴⁷ AA 559–60. See Runciman, *A History*, 2.19.

²⁴⁸ Kb *passim*; Noyers 275; Longpont 184; Afflighem 19–20.

²⁴⁹ FC 168.

²⁵⁰ FC 169–71.

²⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 59, 71–2.

Antioch in June 1098 and must have left Syria in July had reached Lucca by October;²⁵² even those in Italy, therefore, would be getting news that was already three months' stale. The crusaders might almost have been on the moon for all their relations could tell.

²⁵² Kb 165–7.

Chapter 6— Returning from Crusades

On the first Sunday after his return home in 1100 Rotrou of Perche, the count of Mortagne, visited his family's foundation, the abbey of Nogent-le-Rotrou, where his father, who had died while he was away, was buried.¹ Rotrou had left France over three years before in the company of Robert of Normandy.² He had shared the disorientation, the exhaustion and starvation, the disease and sickening cruelty, the loss of pack animals and horses and therefore of rank, the disintegration of morale and order, the stories of apparitions and ghostly armies, the penitential liturgies and hysterical religiosity, the discovery of relics and the euphoria of the final miraculous and bloody triumph at Jerusalem. He was portrayed in the epic poem, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, distinguishing himself during the siege of Antioch, where he had been one of those under Bohemond of Taranto's command who had clambered up ladders to break into the city just before dawn on 3 June 1098.³ He had been a line commander in the Battle of Antioch three weeks later.⁴ Now, surrounded by several of his nobles and all the monks, he applied to become a *confrater* of Cluny, Nogent-le-Rotrou's mother house. He confirmed the endowments of his ancestors and promised to protect the community, and he placed the charter of his confirmation on the church's altar, together with the palm fronds he had brought back from Jerusalem, the evidence that he had fulfilled his vow.⁵ These palms had great emotional significance for the crusaders, as they had for pilgrims — the last wish of a dying knight called Olgerius was that the palms he had collected at Jericho should be laid on the altar of the abbey church of Bèze, of which he was a *confrater*⁶ — and it was reported that after the liberation of Jerusalem and the defeat of the

¹ OV 6.394.

² OV 5.34; WT 191.

³ Ch d'A 1.160, 166, 194, 199, 244, 307.

⁴ WT 330. See Ch d'A 1.441.

⁵ Nogent-le-Rotrou 36–9. See OV 6.394.

⁶ Bèze Liber 574.

Egyptian army of relief at Ascalon the survivors of the crusade abandoned most of their weapons and returned home carrying their palms 'as a sign of victory'.⁷

Ralph of Beaugency came back at about the same time as Rotrou, with whom he may have shared a camp during the siege of Antioch.⁸ Ralph had also gravitated towards Bohemond's company⁹ and he had been one of those chosen by Bohemond to guard the gates of Antioch on the night of 10 June 1098, when panic was sweeping through the army.¹⁰ Accompanied by what seems to have been his entire household, at least two of them his companions-in-arms since they were designated *Jerosolimitani*, titles inherited by crusaders from pilgrims and given to those who had been to Jerusalem, he endowed the monks of La Trinité de Vendôme who served in the church of the Holy Sepulchre built by his father at Beaugency with the tithes of his corn and vine harvests. He handed the charter of endowment to the abbot 'with great devotion and on his knees', before placing it on the church's altar.¹¹

Rotrou and Ralph had shared in the euphoric liberation of Jerusalem. Guy II of Rochefort, a leading member of the Montlhéry clan, had taken part in the disastrous sequel which in 1101 had been thrashed by the Turks in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, he was given a triumph, or rather a series of them, when he came home. He sent a messenger ahead to announce his arrival. The abbot of Morigny went out to meet him and he was received at the abbey by a procession of monks, together with many of his subjects. The following day, a Sunday, he moved on to St Arnoult-en-Iveline, where another procession and many other nobles were waiting for him.¹²

Events such as these, marking in a traditional way the end to pilgrimages, must have been taking place throughout western Europe. But the formal welcomes must also have been expressions of a heartfelt desire that the violence which had been prevalent while the magnates were away could be brought to an end. Flanders had been unsettled while Count Robert was on crusade, with serious street-fighting in Bruges; it had needed the intervention of the town

⁷ AA 499–500.

⁸ Ch d'A 1.166.

⁹ BB 21 note.

¹⁰ BB 65 note; GAD 101.

¹¹ La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.108–9. Although not dated, the presence of the *Jerosolimitani* makes it certain that this was describing a ceremony on Ralph's homecoming. See Angers 152 for an example of the eleventh-century use of the title *Jerosolimitanus*.

¹² Morigny 41.

clergy to limit the damage there.¹³ The chronicle of Morigny graphically reveals how chaotic parts of the royal domain around Paris had been in the absence of its castellans. Violence had broken out while Guy of Rochefort was in the East — 'scarcely anyone could be brought to justice' — and his return seems to have been punctuated with appeals for his intervention. A very bad case of disorder was only brought to the notice of the viscount of Etampes once he was back.¹⁴ In Lorraine the abbey of St Hubert-en-Ardenne felt itself to be gravely exposed to predators once its natural protectors, Godfrey of Bouillon and his nobles, had gone to the East.¹⁵ It has often been suggested that in preaching the First Crusade Pope Urban was trying to bring peace to western Europe by canalizing the warlike energies of knights abroad, but anarchy in the absence of the magnates must have been anticipated by him and by other leading churchmen, and the peace decrees issued at the council of Clermont and elsewhere must have been promulgated because it was known that there would be problems while so many nobles were away.

The first crusaders, or at any rate those who had persevered to the end, came back in triumph. Their successors all too often returned weighed down by their own inadequacy, a sentiment expressed in blunt terms by King Conrad III of Germany in May 1149, shortly after he had landed near Venice on his way home from a disastrous crusade.

The city of Edessa had been taken by the pagans and with the encouragement and advice of the most holy Pope Eugenius and also of Bernard, the most religious abbot of Clairvaux, we set out on a journey to liberate the Christians, but on account of our sins we had little success and after adoring the relic of the living and salvatory cross in Jerusalem we returned to our own land.¹⁶

But success or failure, the crowds, the curiosity, the prestige and the excitement could not hide the fact that many men and women had not come home at all. Some of those who learnt the worst from companions bringing the bad news back with them¹⁷ had to find

¹³ 'Ex miraculis S. Donatiani Brugensibus' 858. See 'Annales Blandinienses' 27.

¹⁴ Morigny 40–1.

¹⁵ 'Cantatorium Sancti Huberti' 340.

¹⁶ Conrad III, *Urkunden*, 358.

¹⁷ For wills made by men ill or dying on crusade and drawn up in the West on the basis of the survivors' reports, see Longpont 250; Molesme 2.105; Aureil 113–14, 126, 179; Vigeois 68–9; Redon 318–20; Chaise-le-Vicomte 7–8, 25, 347; St Cyprien de Poitiers 67–8; Bèze Chron 392 (Bèze Liber 614); Solignac fol. 23v. For other gifts, see Longpont 184, 250; Noyers 274–5; Uzerche 171.

security somewhere. The widow of one crusader became a nun of the priory of Marcigny.¹⁸ The husband of another widow had left the priory of La Charité-sur-Loire some land; the monks agreed to provide her with half the rents they would get from buildings erected on it.¹⁹ The most unbearable cases must have been those in which a husband, father or son was missing and there was uncertainty whether he had died or not. Ida of Louvain combined a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1106 with a search for her husband, Baldwin of Mons, who had disappeared in Asia Minor on a mission from Antioch to Constantinople eight years before.²⁰

Of the survivors some, perhaps many, were not well. Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire came home a sick man.²¹ Peter Jordan of Châtillon had fallen ill at Antioch, probably during an epidemic of typhoid or malaria which had broken out in July 1098. In this state he had been received and tonsured by a monk 'in the name and to the honour of God and St Paul', which suggests that he had been professed into the Greek monastery of St Paul which had been established for a long time in the city. Recovering his health, he forgot his profession and continued with his crusade. But a few days after he had got home he began to feel ill again; this looks like malaria. Believing the return of illness to be a sign from God, he sent for monks of the abbey of Cormery, which seems to have been the nearest to him dedicated to St Paul, and asked to be received into their community.²² The knight Pons the Red died almost as soon as he returned, leaving the church of St Paul de Lyon 100 *solidi* and a banner which perhaps he had carried on crusade.²³

Others were exhausted. Guy Trousseau of Montlhéry, who was one of those who fled from Antioch in the summer of 1098, came home worn out by his journey and unable to come to terms with the fact that his courage had left him.²⁴ Guigo of 'Mara' rested for some days with the community of St Julien de Tours and was so impressed by the monks' kindness to him that he gave them a church.²⁵ The return journey, after everything the crusaders had been through, must have been very hard. Those with funds seem to have taken ship

¹⁸ Cluny 5.152.

¹⁹ La Charité-sur-Loire 104–5.

²⁰ Gislebert of Mons 45. See AA 626.

²¹ GAD 102.

²² Cormery 104. For the monastery of St Paul in Antioch, see C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 131, 323, 334 n.19, although Cahen knew of no evidence that it was still occupied in 1098.

²³ Lyon 2.106.

²⁴ Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 36.

²⁵ St Julien de Tours 72–3.

if they could,²⁶ but there are several references to deaths at sea and the Mediterranean voyage, which was always to frighten their descendants, was a worrying experience. A graphic description is to be found in a collection of miracles attributed to St Nicholas. The story was apparently told to a monk of Bec by a Norman crusader called Richard son of Fulk of Aunou, who was one of more than 1,400 passengers crammed into a large ship at Jaffa. Cruising north, and therefore taking advantage of the current up the Levantine coast, it ran into a storm and was wrecked near Tartus. The town was in ruins and depopulated, but the travellers ransacked it for what they could find. Concerned that they might be attacked by Muslims, nearly 100 of them boarded another boat, which was Armenian and was bound for Cyprus. It met another storm and was sinking when it was apparently saved by the intervention of the saint.²⁷ Bertrand of Bas, a canon of Le Puy who had seen the ghost of his bishop in the later stages of the crusade,²⁸ felt unwell on board another ship and renounced tithes he had held personally.²⁹ Stephen of Vitry-sur-Seine fell so ill at sea that he despaired of surviving, and made a will, leaving half a church to Longpont-sous-Monthéry. He recovered and got home safely, but gave up the half church anyway.³⁰ There was a later tradition at Neumoustier that Count Cono of Montaigu, his son Lambert and Peter the Hermit were returning on a boat which was also carrying some townsmen from Huy. Tossed by a storm and believing that they were in great danger they vowed to build a church if God would save them. The storm immediately abated, leaving 'the sea so tranquil and the air so serene that the sky could be compared to the purest sapphire.'³¹

In the circumstances it is surprising to find some men who had returned from the expedition which left in 1096 rejoining the armies which marched to the East in 1100–1. But of the less than a dozen individuals known to have done this, Hugh the Great of Vermandois, Stephen of Blois and his chaplain Alexander, Ivo of Grandmesnil and Hugh of Toucy had through flight or bad luck not yet reached Jerusalem and fulfilled their vows. It is not known why Miles of Bray and Simon and William of Poissy went again. Miles could have fled

²⁶ See AA 504; also probably 'Qualiter reliquiae B. Nicolai episcopi et confessoris ad Lotharingiae villam, quae Portus nominatur, delatae sunt' 293.

²⁷ 'Miracula S. Nicolai conscripta a monacho Beccensi' 427–9.

²⁸ RA 119–20.

²⁹ Chamalières 54.

³⁰ Longpont 250.

³¹ Neumoustier 815. See Giles of Orval 93.

from Antioch with his son Guy Trousseau or he could have been convinced that the dishonour of that desertion needed expiation; his brother Guy of Rochefort also went.

There is very little evidence for the crusaders coming home wealthy. Guy of Rochefort was said to have returned 'in glory and abundance', whatever that might mean.³² A knight called Grimbald, who had been on the First Crusade and was passing by Cluny, became a *confrater*, made a will in the abbey's favour and presented it with an ounce of gold.³³ Hadvide of Chiny, who had crusaded with her husband Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville, gave the monks of St Hubert-en-Ardenne a complete set of vestments in black cloth worked with gold and a chalice made with 9 ounces of gold and adorned with jewels.³⁴ Guy of 'Insula Bollini', dying on the journey, left the abbey of Bèze 6 ounces of gold.³⁵ These are the only references I know which could be interpreted as evidence for riches gained on the expeditions and it is not likely that there are many more to be found, although the rulers of the new Latin settlements seem to have played on a myth of oriental splendour, perhaps to attract settlers: Bohemond plundered Antioch in order to cut a dash on his tour of Europe in 1106.³⁶

All crusaders had faced potentially crippling expenses and they and their families had pledged to redeem. Some may also have been weighed down by the repayment of ransoms: a knight in Poitou made arrangements to deal with such an eventuality before the crusade of 1120.³⁷ Of course it cannot be denied that the survivors had gained honour and the title *Jerolimitanus* meant a lot to them and their contemporaries.³⁸ The prestige they enjoyed was demonstrated on Bohemond of Taranto's journey through France in 1106, as we have seen. In 1119 Robert of Flanders was referred to by his son as a man who 'with God's cooperation and with the other princes of the army of the Christians subdued with his weapons the Lord's Sepulchre and Jerusalem'.³⁹ Amid the dangers and hardships

³² Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 38.

³³ Cluny 5.118.

³⁴ St Hubert-en-Ardenne 81–2.

³⁵ Bèze Chron 392.

³⁶ RC 713–14.

³⁷ Mauléon 15.

³⁸ Crusaders who were definitely referred to by this title were Robert II of Flanders ('De genere comitum Flandrensium notae Parisienses' 259), Fulk V of Anjou (St Aubin d'Angers Cart 2.409–10), and posthumously Baldwin of Mons (St Waudru de Mons 1.9; Cysoing 39) and Rainald III of Château-Gontier (St Aubin d'Angers Cart 2.175).

³⁹ St Bertin (Haigneré) 1.52.

of a crusade, moreover, close association with a great magnate could lead to advancement, as in the case of a man called William of the *Camera*, who had served with Duke William of Aquitaine. The duke loved him dearly and on their return made him prévôt of Poitiers. But he began to puff himself up, at least according to a highly partisan account written by the monks of Nouaillé, to press on his inferiors and to act aggressively towards his superiors. Among his other tyrannies, he took control by force of mills which the monks believed belonged to them. They complained to Hugh of Lusignan, who had also come back from the East, and Hugh appealed to the duke on their behalf. The result was a judicial duel to decide the matter, which was won by David Four Bones, the monks' champion.⁴⁰

The prestige the survivors enjoyed must have been enhanced by the relics some of them brought back. These were tiny and portable, but they were of immense religious significance to them and their contemporaries and the crusaders showered European churches with them: pieces of the True Cross, presumably from the fragment 'discovered' in Jerusalem shortly after the city's capture,⁴¹ stones from the Holy Sepulchre⁴² and the site of the Ascension,⁴³ hair torn from her head by Our Lady as she witnessed the Crucifixion,⁴⁴ a hair from Christ's beard,⁴⁵ and relics of SS John the Baptist,⁴⁶ Nicholas,⁴⁷ and possibly Cleophas and Sergius.⁴⁸ After Raymond of St Gilles's death in Syria in 1105 Bishop Herbert of Tripoli, who had been his chaplain, sent the relics Raymond had carried with him on crusade to his home priory of Chaise-Dieu, to embellish the tomb of St Robert there.⁴⁹ At least one sliver from the Holy Lance — the lump of metal purporting to be the tip of the spear which had pierced Christ's side while he was on the cross — found its way to western Europe before the Lance itself was lost in Asia Minor in 1101. Its hiding place under the floor of the old cathedral in Antioch had been revealed to the poor servant Peter Bartholomew in visions, during one of which St Andrew had carried him at night into

⁴⁰ Nouaillé 292–4. For William, see also Montierneuf de Poitiers 63.

⁴¹ CSPVS 184–8; Redon 318–19; LA 626; Notre-Dame de Chartres 3.83.

⁴² CSPVS 184–8; Redon 318–19; Giles of Orval 93.

⁴³ LA 626.

⁴⁴ OV 5.170; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, 179–81.

⁴⁵ LA 626.

⁴⁶ Giles of Orval 93.

⁴⁷ 'Qualiter reliquiae B. Nicolai' 293–4; CSPVS 184–8.

⁴⁸ J. Baume, *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France — Naissance de Montpellier (985–1213)* (Montpellier, 1969), 86; W. K. zu Isenburg, F. Freytag von Loringhoven *et al.*, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, 2nd edn (Marburg and Berlin, 1980ff), 13, table 129A.

⁴⁹ *Acta SS Aprilis* 3.330.

Antioch, which was then still in Muslim hands, and had shown him where it was buried. It was found only after Peter himself had jumped down into a trench which had been dug all day and had pulled it from the soil. Some of the leaders were very doubtful, but its discovery had an extraordinary effect on the army's morale at a crucial moment.⁵⁰

The most famous relic after the True Cross and the Holy Lance was the arm of St George, who played a significant rôle on the First Crusade as a secondary patron; other relics of him were also picked up and the occupation of his tomb at Lydda was marked by the appointment of the first Latin bishop in Palestine and the holding of a service to ask for his intercession.⁵¹ The arm was given to the abbey of Anchin by Robert of Flanders and the story of its translation is quite revealing about attitudes during the campaign.

Somewhere in Asia Minor or northern Syria Gerbault, a priest from Lille in Robert of Flanders's contingent, accompanied by a lay companion, was engaged in the most normal crusader activity: foraging for food. The two men came upon a monastery, where they were hospitably received and fed. During their stay Gerbault made himself as pleasant as he could while keeping an eye open for any particularly important relics. The monks, who were good-natured and simple-minded, hid nothing from him and showed him a locked marble chest in which they kept their most precious possession, St George's arm together with his shoulder and ribs. Gerbault managed to get hold of the key, persuaded his companion to steal the relic and made off with it. As he took flight he was struck by blindness and was forced to return to the monastery where he confessed what he had done. The very unlikely result, according to a narrative written by a man in Flanders who claimed to have known him personally from childhood, was that the monks forgave him and, on the recovery of his sight, made him a present of the relic.

He returned to his contingent, but he fell ill again — in the narrator's view for not paying due respect to the relic in his charge — and there began macabre procession of custodians as each man, to whom the arm was passed like some unlucky charm, fell ill and died: Gerard of Buc, the second castellan of Lille, and after him a canon of

⁵⁰ LA 626. See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 95–8. For other relic gifts, see Poly, *La Provence* 268 n.120; 'Chronicon Brunwylarensis' 2.153; Barnwell 46–7; St Maixent Chron 170; and possibly 'Pancharta Caduniensis seu Historia sancti Sudarii Jesu Christi' 300–1.

⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 105. See also CSPVS 184–8; LA 626.

Lille called Guncselin. At this point Count Robert, who had heard of the circumstances of Gerard's death, intervened and demanded that the relic be surrendered to him, together with Gerard's other possessions. He entrusted it to a series of custodians, who all fell ill in turn, until one of his chaplains took charge of it. It went with Robert to Jerusalem and was nearly lost in a shipwreck on the voyage home before it was presented to Anchin.⁵²

The standing of the crusaders who had fulfilled their vows could well have helped to ease the financial burdens they faced. In an age when family fortunes could be improved by marriage, they might well, for instance, have found that they could arrange more advantageous matches for their sons and daughters, although this is hard to demonstrate. But prestige has rarely been able to pay all one's bills and a pressing need for cash led some men to try to lessen the damage by resorting to whatever measures were available to them. Achard of Born gave property and rights in a forest to St Jean d'Angély in repayment for 200 *solidi* which he owed the abbey.⁵³ When Fulk of Matheflon came back from the East he apparently tried to exact a toll on a bridge he had built from the tenants of the monks of St Serge d'Angers, who claimed exemption through *frankalmoin*,⁵⁴ and to levy another on the transport of pigs,⁵⁵ and he certainly turned to his advantage an old dispute with the nuns of Le Ronceray d'Angers. Early in the eleventh century the village of Seiches-sur-le-Loir had been given to the nuns by Countess Hildegard of Anjou. The castle of Matheflon had then been built in the parish and within its enceinte a wooden church had been constructed. But the population had grown and Fulk and Le Ronceray had agreed to replace it in stone. The new church had been built and Fulk, whose father had already consented to the gift to the nuns of the tithes of Matheflon itself, had agreed to surrender other tithes he held in Anjou and to fund a priest, although he was paid 100 *solidi* (and his wife ten) 'not because this was a sale but out of charity', a clause that must have been inserted to avoid the charge of simony. He had not kept his side of the bargain, however, and had held on to

⁵² 'Narratio quomodo reliquiae martyris Georgii' 248–52. See also 'Sigeberti continuatio auctarium Aquicinense' 395; 'Genealogia comitum Flandriae' 323; 'Historia monasterii Aquicinctini' 586; 'Annales Aquicinctini' 503; Dunes 3. For a reference to Robert as 'the son of St George', see 'Genealogia regum Francorum' 250.

⁵³ St Jean d'Angély 30.153. He reserved hunting rights.

⁵⁴ Laval 1.70–1, although it is possible that this dispute took place before the crusade.

⁵⁵ St Laud d'Angers 7.

the tithes, so that he and the nunnery were at odds up to the time he left on the First Crusade. While he was away his son Hugh came to recognize the strength of the nuns' case and made over the tithes. Hugh was given sixteen pounds, his wife twenty *solidi* and a cow, and his uncle ten *solidi*, but he agreed to return the money if Fulk refused to accept what he had done. When Fulk got back he wanted, or pretended to want, to nullify the agreement, but he was persuaded to endorse it for 100 *solidi* of Le Mans and a further 100 of Angers, together with other sums for relations; and he got another 312 *solidi* for confirming the nuns' possession of the tithes of Matheflon.⁵⁶

Fulk's share of the tithes of Seiches had cost the nuns a great deal, which may be why they took a strict line in a related case. This concerned a man called Geoffrey Le Râle, who had sold the tithes of the mill of Seiches to Le Ronceray when raising money for his crusade. On his return he wanted the nuns to make a contribution, in proportion to the value of the tithes they held, towards the purchase of new mill-stones and he was furious with the abbess when she refused. He seized the mill, but he was hauled into the abbess's court, where he pleaded guilty and was fined.⁵⁷

It is hard to penetrate the minds of the survivors. Of course they must have been grateful for their safe return and some made further pilgrimages of thanksgiving. Robert of Normandy went to Mont St Michel⁵⁸ and Godric of Finchale came home to England by way of Compostela.⁵⁹ Others made additional donations, among which one finds again a high proportion of churches and tithes.⁶⁰ An unusual but revealing case concerned Count Guy of Pistoia and a man in his company called Raimondino. In November 1100 Guy gave Raimondino the freehold of a fief he had held of him 'for the benefit of his [Guy's] soul and for the service Raimondino had performed on the Jerusalem journey'. Raimondino immediately transferred the property, which was now his to give, to the canons of Pistoia for the benefit of his soul and those of his wife and children and of the

⁵⁶ Le Ronceray d'Angers 92–5.

⁵⁷ Le Ronceray d'Angers 104.

⁵⁸ OV 5.300.

⁵⁹ Regina of Durham 34.

⁶⁰ For gifts on return: Longpont 250; St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.81–2; Cluny 5.117–18; Cormery 104–5; Nogent-le-Rotrou 36–9; Pistoia 7.242–3; Pémbraçe 17; St Julien de Tours 72–3; St Martial de Linages 340–1; OV 6.310; and probably La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.108–9. For churches and tithes among these, see Pébrac 17; Longpont 250; St Julien de Tours 72–3; Cluny 5.117–18; and probably La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.108–9.

count. It looks as though he had been seeking from the count not material advancement but the reward of prayer.⁶¹

Others made foundations. While on crusade Robert of Flanders decided to refound a monastery near Bruges dedicated to St Andrew in gratitude for the help given by the apostle to the crusaders at Antioch: he was thinking of St Andrew's revelation to Peter Bartholomew of the whereabouts of the Holy Lance. He sent letters to his wife Clemency, asking her to get the necessary licence from the bishop of Tournai, and when he came home the new community was put under the control of the abbey of Afflighem.⁶² The community at Neumoustier, an Augustinian abbey near Huy dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and St John the Baptist, believed that their house had been founded by Cono and Lambert of Montaigu and Peter the Hermit in fulfilment of the vow they had made during the storm on their voyage home. Peter lived in the community until his death in 1115 and was buried in the church. There developed the very unlikely tradition at the abbey that the patriarch of Jerusalem and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre had granted Peter the privilege that men and women who could not fulfil their vows to pilgrimage to Jerusalem for good cause could gain the same benefits by visiting Neumoustier.⁶³ The priory of Landécourt was founded by the Lorrainer lord Bencelinus of Brie on his return in 1100.⁶⁴ The priory of Crisenon in Burgundy had been founded before the First Crusade by Hugh of Toucy, one of those first crusaders who deserted. When he came back his affection for his foundation grew and he built a church for it, but, conscious that his vow had not been fulfilled, he left for the East again in 1101, putting Crisenon under the protection of the bishop of Auxerre.⁶⁵

Some of the survivors became priests or monks. At least two, Peter Jordan of Châtillon and Raymond of Aguilers,⁶⁶ had taken the step during the First Crusade itself, and others were ordained or professed on their return to Europe. One of them was Eudes Arpin, who had sold his viscounty of Bourges to the king of France to raise money for his crusade. He was captured during the battle of Ramle in 1102 and was held a prisoner in Cairo until he was freed through the intervention of the Byzantine emperor. On his way home he visited Pope Paschal, into whose mouth a contemporary put a speech which

⁶¹ Pistoia 7.241–3.

⁶² Afflighem 19–21.

⁶³ Neumoustier 815; Giles of Orval 93.

⁶⁴ Lorraine 513–14.

⁶⁵ Molesme 2.84; and see 1.138–9.

⁶⁶ Cormery 104; RA 108.

stressed the satisfactory nature of the penance Eudes Arpin had undertaken and the merit of his subsequent sufferings; never again should he risk his soul in the world. It is clear that Eudes Arpin had already experienced some kind of inner conversion. He returned to France and became a monk at Cluny.⁶⁷ These men may have found their vocations out of their experiences, but there was anyway such a close association in people's minds between crusading and the religious life that one could lead naturally to the other. For example, Maurice of Glons, who was preparing to leave for the crusade of 1147, came to an agreement with the abbey of St Jacques de Liège. He transferred to the monks a *mansus* he had held of the abbey, receiving in return a counter-gift, but he specified that his mother should get a lifetime annuity of forty *solidi* drawn from half of it and that if he was alive once the crusade was over he was to be received into the community 'either as a servant or as a monk'; presumably he feared that he might not pass a literacy test. He obviously saw crusading as a natural penitential preparation for entry into the religious life.⁶⁸

An extraordinary story current in the Limousin several decades later suggests that Gouffier of Lastours brought a tame lion back with him from the East.⁶⁹ This would have been an exotic reminder of his adventures, but for him and for most men their return marked a re-entry into a disordered society with which they had to come to terms and one which often seems to have become more disordered because of their absence. In fact there was no way once they were home that lords could avoid being drawn into the constant disputes over property and rights that regularly punctuated life. I have already described how within six years of the liberation of Jerusalem Bishop Ivo of Chartres had to deal with a case arising from the way Rotrou of Perche-Mortagne had thrown up a castle on land which a crusader believed was his and how the dispute had degenerated into violence.⁷⁰ Another case troubling Ivo involved Raimbold Croton

⁶⁷ OV 5.324, 342–52. Others who had a vocation included Adiutor of Vernon (after a period in the Holy Land: *Acta SS Aprilis* 3.824), Drogo of Chaumont-en-Vexin (St Martin de Pontoise 362), Frumold ('Chronicon Brunwylarensis' 153), Godric of Finchale (Reginald of Durham, 57–8), Richard son of Fulk of Aunou ('Miracula S. Nicolai' 429) and the almoner of Tournemire who became a monk at Aurillac (St Flour ccvii).

⁶⁸ St Jacques de Liège 442–3; and see also Bèze Chron 473.

⁶⁹ GV 12.428.

⁷⁰ See above p. 136. In the Limousin Gerald Malefaide of Noailles and his brother were imprisoned by the canons of St Etienne de Limoges for holding on to church lands and tithes to which they had no right. St Etienne de Limoges 186–90.

from Chartres, a hero who had distinguished himself at Antioch⁷¹ and had been the first, or one of the first, over the walls of Jerusalem in July 1099.⁷² Within a year or two of his return Raimbold had had a monk of the abbey of Bonneval, who must have been in charge of one of its granges, beaten up and castrated because the abbey's servants had been stealing his crops; presumably this was another case of disputed rights. Ivo imposed fourteen years' penance, but Raimbold used all the influence he could to get an exemption from the prohibition against bearing arms during that period. He had lost a hand during the attack on Jerusalem⁷³ and was probably incapable of fighting anyway, but the effect of the ban on his standing in society would have been disastrous.⁷⁴ Before Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire had left in 1096 he had been involved in a violent quarrel originating in his belief that the count of Anjou was setting up his cousin, Corba of Thorigné, as a co-heiress of Amboise with the complicity of his uncle Lisois, who had had wardship of his estate in his minority. Part of the plan had been to marry Corba off to a man called Aimery of Courron. Hugh had reacted fiercely to the threat to his inheritance, but the count had intervened and the quarrel had been patched up. Hugh and Aimery had taken the cross and had left together, but Aimery had died at Nicaea. Returning at Easter 1100, Hugh found that the count, in return for a substantial sum, had married Corba to an elderly man called Achard of Saintes without informing her relations and that there was a new threat to his possession of his lordship. Achard fled with his young wife to Tours, but he was followed by Hugh's subjects, one of whom made contact with Corba and planned her abduction when she went to pray in a church nearby. One day she was bundled out of the church and on to a horse, and was handed over to a party of her kinsmen, who were led by Robert of Roches-Corbon, Hugh's uncle by marriage and protector. Achard died of illness and sorrow soon afterwards.⁷⁵

An extreme case is that of Thomas of Marle. Thomas was a cruel and exceptionally violent man and he had already shown these traits before the First Crusade. It is possible that his personality had been damaged by the hatred his father, Engelrand of Boves, felt towards him. Engelrand seems to have doubted whether Thomas was indeed

⁷¹ BB 49 note, 71 note; AA 410; WT 310. See also Ch d'A 1.71, 208–11, 306, 442, 527–8.

⁷² BB 102 note, HP 218–19; RC 688–9; OV 6.158. See Ivo of Chartres 144.

⁷³ RC 688–9.

⁷⁴ Ivo of Chartres 144–5.

⁷⁵ GAD 99–102. See Duby, *The Knight*, 245–7.

his son. He had wanted to disinherit him and his feelings of hostility were inflamed by the jealousy and vindictiveness of his second wife.⁷⁶ Thomas was married to Ida of Hainault, the daughter of Baldwin of Mons, but he did not march with the forces from Flanders or Lorraine. Together with another lord from northern France he joined the Swabian count Emich of Flonheim and took part in the persecution of the Jews in the Rhineland and in a ravaging march to the Hungarian borders.⁷⁷ After Emich's army had disintegrated, he went to Italy and by the summer of 1097 was in the Christian camp before Nicaea.⁷⁸ He distinguished himself in the battle of Dorylaeum,⁷⁹ and took part in the battle of Antioch⁸⁰ and the siege of Jerusalem.⁸¹ Thomas, 'the valiant . . . whose heart was loyal',⁸² was to become a hero of the writers of the *chansons*; his character must have been suited to that brutal, alienated world.

Ida of Hainault died during or soon after the crusade and on his return Thomas married Ermengarde of Montaigu, whose castle — a very strong one — became a centre for a spectacular pillaging campaign in the region of Laon, Rheims and Amiens. A league was organized against him in 1103 under the leadership of his father and some of the most influential local lords, including Ebles of Roucy, but it came to nothing when the king intervened.⁸³ In Thomas's case the crusade seems to have been merely an interlude in a savage vendetta against a father who loathed him, in an internal family feud which rocked much of northern France.

In August 1099 those crusaders who had decided to remain in Palestine were occupying only Jerusalem itself and a corridor of land stretching to Jaffa on the coast. Three hundred miles to the north there were Christian enclaves around Albara and Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man, and further still, around Antioch and Edessa. Their hold on the newly conquered territories in the Levant was precarious. Jerusalem is awkwardly placed geographically, has never had much economic importance and could not be held in isolation. Control had to be established over the region around it and there had to be a relatively secure line of communications back to Antioch and

⁷⁶ See Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 30–4, 174–8; GN Vita 328, 362–72, 396–416; OV 6.258, 290.

⁷⁷ AA 293–5; WT 156–7.

⁷⁸ AA 295, 315 (Ch d'A 1.69, 94).

⁷⁹ AA 332 (WT 217).

⁸⁰ AA 422 (WT 330; Ch d'A 1.441, 450–1); RR 833; Gilo 775.

⁸¹ AA 464, 468 (WT 410).

⁸² Ch d'A 1.171, 450 and *passim*.

⁸³ Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 30–4.

beyond. Enlargement began almost at once and the coastal ports were progressively reduced in a strategy which dominated the next twenty-five years. In the north, the settlements at Antioch and Edessa expanded and met, and the Christians occupied the coast and much of its hinterland as far south as Baniyas. Meanwhile the gap from Baniyas to Beirut was bridged by the establishment of the county of Tripoli and by 1124 the Christians held the whole of the Levantine coast from Alexandretta to Gaza, with the sole exception of the city of Ascalon and its territory. Reinforcements who wished to travel overland now had an assured route once they had crossed Asia Minor, and smaller contingents, which it was practicable to transport by sea, had a more secure passage, because the Egyptian galley fleet, the only really effective military arm left to the Fatimid caliphs in Cairo, was deprived of ports to take on water and did not have the range to operate effectively against the northern Mediterranean shipping lanes.⁸⁴ The settlers embarked on a massive building programme: of port facilities, castles, town fortifications, monasteries and churches, above all in and around Jerusalem where, it has been suggested, they were trying to mirror the heavenly city in stone.⁸⁵ But there were never enough of them to assure security,⁸⁶ and it is not surprising to find western knights who, although not crusaders in the technical sense, had committed themselves to periods of religious exile to help defend the Holy Land. They were soon to be followed by the brothers of the military orders.

The first men who were prepared to put aside a few years to serve in the East were some crusaders who in 1099 delayed their departure for home. They included William V of Montpellier,⁸⁷ Adiator of Vernon,⁸⁸ Ilger Bigod,⁸⁹ and probably Rainald II of Burgundy⁹⁰ and Ralph of Montpincon.⁹¹ These para-crusaders should not be confused with the mercenaries who were being employed in Palestine and Syria from their conquest.⁹² They performed their service as a devotion and in doing so were establishing a tradition which lasted as

⁸⁴ J. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge, 1988), 112–34.

⁸⁵ Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem', 699–711.

⁸⁶ Although more than there used to be thought. See R. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in Crusader Palestine* (forthcoming).

⁸⁷ AA 507; Baumel, *Histoire d'une seigneurie*, 86.

⁸⁸ *Acta SS Aprilis* 3.824.

⁸⁹ Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, 179–81.

⁹⁰ AA 583.

⁹¹ AA 531. For *milites ad terminum* in general, see G. Ligato, 'Fra Ordini Cavallereschi e crociata: "milites ad terminum" e "confraternitates" armate', *'Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII* (Milan, 1992), 645–97.

⁹² See AA 545.

long as crusading did; their heirs were the men who were to travel to fight in support of the Teutonic Knights and the Hospitallers in Prussia, Rhodes and Malta in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Their ethos was summarized by a biographer of Charles the Good of Flanders, who wrote that after Charles had reached manhood and had been belted as a knight he vowed to go to Jerusalem,

and there, bearing arms against the pagan enemies of our faith . . . he fought vigorously for Christ the Lord for a considerable time and . . . consecrated to him the first fruits of his labours and deeds.

Since he had been born between 1080 and 1086 Charles would have been about fifteen in 1100, which leads one to suppose that his majority would have occurred soon after the First Crusade. He seems to have spent most of the first decade of the twelfth century in Palestine, because he returned to Flanders shortly before the death of Count Robert II in 1111.⁹³

It must have been common for knights like Charles to attach themselves to some institution in or around Jerusalem. Before 1127 Robert Burgundio of Sablé, a grandson of the first crusader of the same name, had been associated with the church of St Stephen outside the walls of the city.⁹⁴ In 1130 it was known that secular knights, called *milites ad terminum*, were serving for fixed terms with the Templars,⁹⁵ who themselves may have originated in such a group; there was a tradition in Palestine later in the century that the earliest Templars had been attached to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁶ A sad case concerned a Burgundian knight called Guy Comelly of Til-Châtel. His wife, who had borne him three daughters, had contracted leprosy and he decided, perhaps in a fit of despair, to go to Jerusalem 'and there in the Temple of the Lord to pursue his career as a knight in the service of God to the end of his life'. Before leaving he arranged for his wife and daughters to be cared for by the abbey of St Bénigne de Dijon.⁹⁷ There was a tendency for those who had served temporarily in the East to join a

⁹³ Walter of Théroutanne, 'Vita Karoli Comitiss Flandriae', 540–1.

⁹⁴ Anjou (Chartrou) 366.

⁹⁵ *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* 142–3. This occurs in an addition to the Rule, made in Jerusalem in c.1130.

⁹⁶ See K. Elm, 'Kanoniker und Ritter vom Heiligen Grab', *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (Sigmaringen, 1980), 159–66.

⁹⁷ Cart Temp 19.

military order eventually. Hugh I of Troyes spent the years 1104–8 in the Holy Land,⁹⁸ and he pilgrimaged again in 1114⁹⁹ and in 1125, when he became a Templar.¹⁰⁰ Robert Burgundio ended up as master of the same order.¹⁰¹ Bernard V Gros of Uxelles, who may have spent the years 1110–16 in Palestine, joined the crusade of 1147 and became a Hospitaller.¹⁰²

With the foundation of the Templars the crusading ideal was transferred on to a different plane. These warrior-religious originated in a decision made during the winter of 1119–20 by some knights in Jerusalem who, under the leadership of a noble from Champagne called Hugh of Payns and in the atmosphere of crisis that followed the catastrophe of the Field of Blood, formed themselves into a brotherhood with the aim of securing the pilgrim roads to and from the holy places, which were still very unsafe. They took vows of poverty, celibacy and obedience and their establishment was approved by the patriarch of Jerusalem. They attracted the patronage of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who gave them part of his palace in the Temple compound to be their headquarters, and they were probably recognized at a church council which met in Nablus in January 1120. Their foundation was confirmed by the Church at large in 1129 at a council at Troyes presided over by a papal legate, which, exploiting a wealth of experience of the religious life available to it, drew up a Rule for them.¹⁰³ They were soon being granted property in Europe; Templar brothers, perhaps itinerant at first, were active in Provence from possibly 1124, Flanders from perhaps 1125, Languedoc and Iberia from 1128, and Burgundy and Champagne from c. 1130.¹⁰⁴

The concept of a military order was as unprecedented in Christian thought as had been the idea of warfare as a penance which provided the basis for its existence. Thomas Aquinas made the association

⁹⁸ Molesme 2.321–3.

⁹⁹ Montier-la-Celle 14–18, 284–7; Montiéramey 30–1, 42; Reims (admin) 1.269; Reims (ville) 3.728–9; Epernay 2.118; Laurence of Liège 504.

¹⁰⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', 7.85–6. See Cart Hosp 1.78; Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 44.

¹⁰¹ Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans', 6–7; M.-L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri* (Göttingen, 1974), 30–40.

¹⁰² Cluny 5.246–8, 456, 473–4; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 304–5. A 'transalpine' knight called Hugh, who later became a monk in the East, came out to Palestine 'militiae gratia' early in the twelfth century. *Duodecima Centuria* 1606.

¹⁰³ See M. Barber, *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge, 1994), 6–18.

¹⁰⁴ Cart Temp 1–3, 7–8, 12, 19–23.

between penitential violence and the military orders clear 150 years later when he defended their rôle by pointing out that: 'To make war in the service of God is imposed on some as a penance, as is evident from those who are enjoined to fight in aid of the Holy Land.'¹⁰⁵ With the Templars and the brothers of the other military orders warfare as a temporary act of devotion became warfare as a devotional way of life. Whereas crusaders were laymen directing their everyday skills for a time into a holy cause, Templars were religious as permanently at war as their colleagues in other more conventional orders were at prayer. They were members, they and their apologists admitted, of a new kind of order of the church, although they insisted that its foundation had been foreshadowed, and therefore justified, in scripture.

This kind of new order originated, we believe, in the holy land of the East through the holy scriptures and divine providence. That is to say that this armed company of knights can kill the enemies of the cross without sinning. For this reason we judge you to be rightly called knights of the Temple, with a probity which is both meritorious and beautiful.¹⁰⁶

Wearing the cross as crusaders did, they appropriated for themselves the monastic, and then crusading, title of 'knights of Christ'. They took up a theme already present in early crusade propaganda, the comparison of the new knight, saving his soul in a worthy cause, with the old violent reprobate.

Oh, this is a truly holy and secure knighthood and it is certainly free from that double peril which often and habitually endangers one sort of man, in so far as he fights for some other cause than Christ. For how often do you who fight the knighthood of the world come to grips with a most dread situation, in which either you may kill the enemy in body while in fact killing your own soul, or by chance you may be killed by him and die in body and soul simultaneously.¹⁰⁷

They were motivated by love.

Like true Israelites and warriors most versed in holy battle, on fire with the flame of true love, you carry out in your deeds the words of the gospel, in which it is said *Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a2ae, qu. 188, art.3.

¹⁰⁶ *La Règle du Temple* 58–9.

¹⁰⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De laude novae militiae ad milites Templi liber', 215. See also the prologue to the Rule. *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* 130.

¹⁰⁸ *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* 205–6.

They died as martyrs.

How glorious are the victors who return from battle! How blessed are the martyrs who die in battle! Rejoice, courageous athlete, if you live and conquer in the Lord, but exult and glory the more if you die and are joined to the Lord. Life indeed is fruitful and victory glorious, but according to holy law death is better than either of these things. For if those are *blessed who die in the Lord*, how much more blessed are those who die for the Lord?¹⁰⁹

But the early Templar documents, the apologies of Bernard of Clairvaux, the Temple's most eloquent supporter, and Hugh of St Victor, written with a greater force and clarity than the Templars themselves could ever have expressed, and *Omne datum optimum*, Pope Innocent II's charter for them, cannot hide the fact that the founding of a religious order, the professed members of which took familiar vows, listened to the office and then rode out to kill their enemies, was considered to be abhorrent in some circles. And anyway the idea and practice of penitential warfare had been applied until now to laymen; the proposition that fighting was a charitable activity for religious on an equivalent level to actions such as the care of the sick was quite another matter. What is surprising is that the section of clerical opinion which disapproved was not larger. In fact, so small, or so discreet, was the opposition to the Templars that we do not even have the names of any of their critics; we know only of their existence from the reactions to their views in the apologies.¹¹⁰

A reason for this may have been that the Templars quickly gained powerful support, not only from the king of Jerusalem and others in the eastern settlements, but also in the West. The approval of a prestigious figure like Bernard of Clairvaux was obviously a major advantage¹¹¹ and although the real growth of their estates in Europe came after Hugh of Payns's recruiting campaign in 1128–9, the Templars had the favour of leading nobles from early on. Fulk V of Anjou became closely associated with them while on crusade in 1120, perhaps being received as a *confrater* within months of their foundation. He apparently had to get their permission to return to his county in France and when he did so he established an annual subvention of thirty pounds of the money of Angers for them and

¹⁰⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De laude novae militiae', 215.

¹¹⁰ See the discussion in A. J. Forey, *The Military Orders* (London, 1992), 10–17.

¹¹¹ William Dandozille, the archbishop of Auch, became a *confrater* in 1126 × 30. Cart Temp 4.

encouraged other magnates to do the same.¹¹² Alfonso I of Portugal became a *confrater* in 1129.¹¹³ Hugh of Troyes renounced his county and, as we have seen, entered the order as a fully professed brother in 1125, as did Raymond Berengar III of Barcelona in 1131,¹¹⁴ the year of Alfonso I of Aragon's notorious and abortive will in which he left his kingdom to the Templars, the Hospitallers and the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.¹¹⁵

One sign that the ideal of the Templar brother knight struck a chord with contemporaries is the speed with which it was imitated. The Hospital of St John had been founded in Jerusalem to care for poor pilgrims, particularly when they were sick. The first evidence that it was beginning to diversify into military activities comes in a charter recording a gift made to it on 17 January 1126 by the constable of the lordship of Jaffa in the presence of witnesses who included six Hospitallers, among them a brother who also had the military title of constable. Given the date of this endowment we can be certain that the men present to witness it were serving in a Christian army which was advancing into territory controlled by Damascus.¹¹⁶ Two years later the master of the Hospital, Raymond of Le Puy, was to be found in a royal army devastating the territory of Ascalon.¹¹⁷ So it looks as though within six years of the Templars' foundation the Hospitallers were starting along the road they had taken. Ten years later, in 1136, the king of Jerusalem entrusted them with the strategic castle of Bait Jibrin in southern Palestine; presumably they intended to garrison it with mercenaries. From 1144 comes the first evidence for a brother-knight, a man called Peter Loup who was based at St Gilles in southern France. In the same year the Hospitallers were given the castle of Crac des Chevaliers, which carried with it responsibilities for the defence of a stretch of the frontier of the county of Tripoli, and in 1148 they may have taken part in the crusade which at that time was campaigning in the East.¹¹⁸

¹¹² OV 6.308–10.

¹¹³ Cart Temp 17.

¹¹⁴ Cart Temp 25. See Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 28.

¹¹⁵ See Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 26–9.

¹¹⁶ Cart Hosp 1.71. The main engagement of this campaign was fought on 25 January. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, 175–7.

¹¹⁷ Cart Hosp 1.78.

¹¹⁸ Cart Hosp 1.97–8, 116–18, 129. J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), 52–8. For the date of the acquisition of Crac des Chevaliers, see J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Paris, 1945), errata slip.

It is no coincidence that the recruitment of nobles into the Hospitaller brotherhood followed these first steps towards militarization. Although the early brethren cannot have been peasants, their origins and connections — even those of the first two masters — are uncertain; only two brothers, Peter Abon from Gap in c.1110¹¹⁹ and Winther from Austria in 1128,¹²⁰ are known to have come from the class of knights. The first recruit from a leading noble family, Count Robert II of Auvergne whose mother was the sister of King Roger II of Sicily, had entered the order by 1141. At that time he was entitled seneschal. The office of seneschal of the central convent did not persist — indeed Robert was the only brother in the central Middle Ages to hold it — but in the secular world it was a high-ranking one. It looks as though the master had made Robert his second-in-command and Robert was listed receiving the important gift of Crac des Chevaliers immediately after him.¹²¹ In 1148, as has been seen, Bernard Gros of Uxelles, a major Burgundian lord, joined the order, and it was also in the 1140s that the first noble *confratres* are to be found: Rainald I of Bailleul, who had crusaded in Spain in 1125,¹²² and Count Guigo II of Forcalquier.¹²³

The militarization of the Hospital proceeded quite slowly and with opposition from the popes, which may be why in the middle years of the twelfth century the Temple gained more in the way of endowments than it did.¹²⁴ The fact is that the ethos of a military order was attractive to western armsbearers. Although most sons of nobles and knights entered the ranks of the secular clergy or conventional monastic communities, some of them found in the Templar life a way of expressing their longing for a religion more in accordance with the culture of the society from which they came than were the traditional and new forms of monasticism. The Templars foreswore the ostentation and glamour of the world, but there was in their ethos enough concurrence with the world's values to make it, and not simply the prospect of fighting for Christ in the East, appealing. In 1138 a Provençal lord called Hugh of Bourbouton entered the order and gave it all his land. His son joined him as a professed brother and his wife became a nun. Ownership of Hugh's lordship was split

¹¹⁹ Cart Hosp 1.4–5.

¹²⁰ Cart Hosp 1.76.

¹²¹ Cart Hosp 1.113, 118.

¹²² Cart Hosp 1.125. For his crusade, see OV 6.402.

¹²³ Cart Hosp 1.146.

¹²⁴ M. Gervers, 'Pro defensione Terre Sancte: The Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex', *The Military Orders*, ed M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), 3–20 *passim*. For papal opposition, see Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, 76–7.

between several branches of his family, but most of it had come into Templar hands by 1147. By that year at the latest Hugh had become master of the commandery of Richerenches created out of the estate and he ran it until his death in 1151. The commandery's extraordinarily rich documentation gives us glimpses of him at such regular intervals that one can be confident that from the time of his reception he can hardly ever have gone to Palestine; he certainly could not have stayed there for more than a year. He had been relatively old when he had responded to the spirituality of the new knights of Christ and he remained living a religious life he must have found satisfying on his old estate, content to manage the lands there for the benefit of the fighting convent in the East.¹²⁵

The military service of laymen in the East and the emergence of the military orders must be set against the fact that appeals to crusade between 1102 and the opening of St Bernard's preaching campaign in 1146 for the so-called Second Crusade attracted only sporadic interest in most of western Europe. In 1107 Bohemond of Taranto was followed, as one might expect, by a group of men from southern Italy, Normandy and Britain, and other crusaders came from Iceland, Norway, Berry, Languedoc, Flanders, French and imperial Burgundy, northern Poitou, Anjou, the Ile-de-France, the Chartrain, where Bohemond himself had preached the crusade, and probably the Limousin. Men joined Pope Calixtus' crusade of 1120–4 from Maine, Poitou, Flanders, the northern Ile-de-France, Anjou, French and imperial Burgundy, Venice and Germany.¹²⁶ In 1128 Hugh of Payns recruited many crusaders in England for the expedition of the following year, as we have seen, and others have been identified who came from Flanders, Angoulême, Berry, Champagne, Poitou, Lorraine, the Chartrain and again Anjou, from where Count Fulk V was travelling to Palestine to marry the heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The lists I have compiled of participants in these minor crusades are not very long. Although I have no idea of the total numbers involved, they came nowhere near those taking part from 1096 to 1103 or from 1147 to 1149 and it seems that often only isolated individuals of significance were inspired to join. And in contrast to the practice of multiple crusading of a century later, once an early

¹²⁵ *Cartulaire de la Commanderie de Richerenches de l'Ordre du Temple (1136–1214) passim.*

¹²⁶ See Ekk C 262.

crusader was home he was very unlikely to crusade again. The most impressive group of second-timers comprised the first crusaders Gaston IV of Béarn, Centule II of Bigorre, Bernard Ato of Béziers, William IX of Aquitaine and William V of Montpellier from southwestern France, and Rotrou of Perche-Mortagne from the southern borders of Normandy, who fought in the early Spanish crusades.¹²⁷ Leaving them aside, one finds only the following. Accompanying Bohemond of Taranto in 1107 were his half-brother Guy of Haute-ville, who had been in the Byzantine army that had turned back half way across Asia Minor in 1098, and Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray, a semi-professional soldier who had been with Bohemond in Antioch soon after it fell to the crusaders; he had served Bohemond's father and probably felt loyalty to the family. Godric of Finchale, who also took the cross for a second time, seems to have been one of those who went directly to the East.¹²⁸ The first crusader Stephen of Neublans probably went again on Pope Calixtus' crusade in 1120 and in 1129 Fulk of Anjou, who had already crusaded in 1120, had in his household the first crusader Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire. Only three of the many participants in the crusade of 1147 had taken the cross before.¹²⁹

So it is clear that most crusaders did not feel the urge to crusade again. A number of them, on the other hand, subsequently made peaceful pilgrimages to Jerusalem: of the first crusaders, Gerard of Gournay-en-Bray in 1104,¹³⁰ Ralph of Montpinçon and Norgeot of Toucy in 1110,¹³¹ Hugh Dalmace of Semur in 1118¹³² and Rotrou of Perche-Mortagne before 1144; he gave the relics he carried with him to his foundation of La Trappe.¹³³ Walter of Montsoreau, who was on the crusade of 1107, was a pilgrim in 1122.¹³⁴ So their enthusiasm for Jerusalem as a cult centre and their concern for the Holy Land

¹²⁷ See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 99–107, and for William of Montpellier, Maguelonne 1.76–81. Peter I of Aragon also took the cross for the First Crusade.

¹²⁸ Reginald of Durham 53–8.

¹²⁹ Conrad III of Germany, Thierry I of Flanders and Rainald I of Bar-le-Duc. Other recruits had made pilgrimages to Jerusalem before.

¹³⁰ William of Jumièges 278.

¹³¹ Ralph of Montpinçon: OV 3.166. Norgeot of Toucy: *Gallia Christiana* 12, Instrumenta, 107–8; *Papsturkunden in Frankreich* 6.115–16.

¹³² Marcigny 96; Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 360.

¹³³ La Trappe 579. The Ralph of Beaugency who witnessed a charter of 1124–5 (St Sépulcre de Jerusalem 213) among the burgesses of Jerusalem cannot have been the first crusader.

¹³⁴ Tours 37.286 note, although he may in fact have been on crusade again.

had not dimmed, even if taking part in another crusade was, for one reason or another, not an attractive proposition for most of them.

An associated feature of the period is that the interest aroused in Europe by the crusades of 1107 and the 1120s was localized, being in most regions sporadic or non-existent. The Limousin, where there had been great enthusiasm for the First Crusade, provides us with the name of only one crusader for the period from 1102 to 1131, and he is doubtful.¹³⁵ It is not as though concern for the Holy Sepulchre had evaporated; indeed it looks as though the old eleventh-century tradition of pilgrimages to Jerusalem had reasserted itself. The Limousin generated many pilgrims in the period¹³⁶ and the intense emotional attachment to Jerusalem still in evidence was demonstrated in 1119 when Robert of Roffignac was planning to go on pilgrimage there with Viscount Bernard of Comborn. When Robert attended a meeting at the abbey of Tulle at which the pilgrims were probably making plans, the monks raised with him a dispute they had with him over property. He refused to listen to them, but later, when the monks were in the refectory, he burst into the hall with his son and grandson and surrendered his claims there and then.¹³⁷ No crusader has been identified in the period between 1103 and 1147 from Provence, where there had again been an enthusiastic response in 1096, but there were many pilgrims to Jerusalem, especially from the nobles in the district of Marseilles.¹³⁸ Much the same picture is to be found in Champagne, which had sent many men to the East between 1096 and 1102. Few crusaders can be found before 1147, but there was enthusiasm for pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the lead being taken by Count Hugh I of Troyes, as we have seen.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Josbert Alboin.

¹³⁶ It is not impossible that one or two were first crusaders, but most seem to have been pilgrims. Gerald of Le Mont (Aureil 27), Peter lord of Noailles, the nephew of the abbot of Vigeois and brother of the abbot of Uzerche (Uzerche 399; Vigeois 155; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 211, 268), Adhémar of Roffignac (Tulle 99), Robert of Roffignac (Tulle 157), Hugh of Soulier (Tulle 213), Robert of Lagarde-Enval (Tulle 241), Guitard of Tulle (Tulle 306), Garsias of Malemort (Tulle 158), Viscount Bernard of Comborn (Tulle 88, 157), William of Chanac (Tulle 45, 55), Gerard of Chanac (Tulle 65), Walter of Condat (Uzerche 294), Roger of Courson (Uzerche 275; see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 210–11), Bernard Goscelm (Aureil 106), Guy of Bujaleuf (Aureil 105–6), Hugh Artmand (Tulle 68–9, 71, 439–40) and two members of the family of Ligonat (Uzerche 323).

¹³⁷ Tulle 157–8. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 216.

¹³⁸ They included William Hugh of Les Baux (St Rémy de Provence 111–12; St Paul de Mausole 15–17), Hugh Geoffrey of Marseilles (St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.451–2; 2.45) and Ismidon of Sassenage (*Acta SS Septembris* 7.847).

¹³⁹ Other Pilgrims were Guy I of Dampierre-sur-l'Aube (Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 42), Erard I of Brienne (Montiérender 190, 200), Walter II of Brienne (St Etienne de

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One is left with the impression that in much of western Europe the crusading idea proper became dormant after all the efforts associated with the First Crusade. To many armsbearers that expedition must have seemed a unique chance to engage in a particularly appropriate meritorious activity. Now they turned back to their traditional devotions, to be recalled to crusading only in 1146, when Bernard of Clairvaux preached the new enterprise as another once-and-for-all opportunity of self-help on one's passage to heaven.

[God] puts himself into a position of necessity, or pretends to be in one, while all the time he wants to help you in your need. He wants to be thought of as the debtor, so that he can award to those fighting for him wages: the remission of their sins and everlasting glory. It is because of this that I have called you a blessed generation, you who have been caught up in a time so rich in remission and are found living in this year so pleasing to the Lord, truly a year of jubilee.¹⁴⁰

The result was a fiasco and it was to be another forty years before crusading became an everyday expression of the aspirations of the armsbearing classes. The idea of the crusade was still too radical. It needed to be diluted and to become more conventional before it could be regularized and institutionalized.

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Vignory 180; possibly in 1119 when a Henry of Brienne was in Jerusalem) and Andrew of Baudement, who pilgrimaged twice (Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Kohler) 113; Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 32).

¹⁴⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', 8.314.

Chapter 7— Crusading and the Montlhérys

Among those who maintained an enthusiasm for the Christian hold on Palestine and Syria in the first third of the twelfth century, and were sporadically involved in crusading as well, were the members of a circle of families from central and northern France. For a brief period, indeed, it must have seemed as if they were going to take the movement over and with the collapse of their ambitions the first stage of its history ended.

On 31 January 1120 King Baldwin II confirmed the privileges of the chief Marian shrine in Jerusalem, the abbey of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The ruins of St Mary lie in the valley below the city walls, over a shaft which leads down to the site of a tomb from whence the Blessed Virgin Mary is believed to have been assumed into heaven. The tomb has, therefore, an equivalence as the site of a resurrection to the Holy Sepulchre, even if it is of less importance. In his charter Baldwin referred to the abbot-elect, Gilduin of Le Puiset, as his blood-relation.¹ Gilduin was in fact the king's first cousin. He had only recently arrived in Palestine from the Cluniac community of Lurcy-le-Bourg, where he had been prior, and he joined a number of members of his family already in the East. His brother Waleran was a magnate in the county of Edessa,² which was ruled by another first cousin, Joscelin of Courtenay. Yet another cousin was William of Bures-sur-Yvette, the lord of Galilee.³ Gilduin's nephew, Hugh of Le Puiset, was lord of Jaffa.⁴

What bound these men together was descent from Guy I of

¹ Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 33–5. See H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1977), 265, 278, 313, 332, 339, 363.

² *Tractatus de reliquiis S. Stephani Cluniacum delatis*, 317–18. See also FC 651–2, 659, 692; WT 567, 570; Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Kohler) 121–2.

³ See M. Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1990), 46–8, 287.

⁴ Two other early settlers, Frederick and Herbert of Corbeil (Genoa (Iur) 1.102; Notre-Dame

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Montlhéry and his wife Hodierna of Gometz. Guy had been a powerful figure in the Ile-de-France, mainly because of the castles he possessed. In 1104 his great-granddaughter was to marry one of King Philip's younger sons, and one of his granddaughters, born to his son Guy of Rochefort who was the king's seneschal from 1091 to 1095 and again after 1104, was to be betrothed to Philip's heir, the future Louis VI, although that marriage never took place.⁵ Montlhéry was one of those troublesome castellan families — others were Beaugency, Montfort, and Le Puiset — which in the eleventh century had come to dominate the territories round Paris at the king's expense. They all bred crusaders and so must have shared some of the features which predisposed kindreds to respond to the appeal. This was especially the case with the Montlhérys. Guy I had been pious and, attracted to Cluniac monasticism, had founded the Cluniac priory of Longpontsous-Montlhéry; he ended his days as a monk there.⁶ A streak of religiosity ran in the family. His grandson, Baldwin II of Jerusalem who as Baldwin of Le Bourcq had been a first crusader and count of Edessa, was a noted *dévot*; it was later said that his hands and knees were calloused through frequent prayer and penitential discipline.⁷ But another impression one has of the family is how ruthless its members could be. They carried this ruthlessness with them to the East. Several decades after the First Crusade, an indigenous observer, the Armenian Matthew of Edessa who must have known them well, described Baldwin as devout, modest and morally pure, but also mean and greedy: '[his] good qualities were offset by his ingenious avariciousness in seizing and accumulating the wealth of others, his insatiable love for money and his deep lack of generosity';⁸ this was a criticism which was also to be made by his subjects in Jerusalem.⁹ 'He harassed [moreover] those Armenian princes who were still free from the domination of the ferocious Turks, and with unheard of cruelty compelled all of them to go into exile.'¹⁰ When Joscelin of Courtenay became count of Edessa he abandoned 'his former cruel nature'.¹¹

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de Josaphat (Delaborde) 36), could have been related through the marriage of Gilduin's brother Everard III of Le Puiset to Alice of Corbeil.

⁵ A. Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France* (Paris, 1912), 91, 114, 321–5; E. Bourmazel, *Le gouvernement capétien au XIIe siècle 1108–1180: structures sociales et mutations institutionnelles* (Limoges, 1975), 31–4, 46.

⁶ Fliche, *Le règne de Philippe I*, 320 note 4.

⁷ WT 551.

⁸ Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, 221–2.

⁹ Galbert of Bruges, 'Passio Karoli comitis', 564.

¹⁰ Matthew of Edessa 220.

¹¹ Matthew of Edessa 225.

Two of Guy and Hodierna's sons, the husbands of two of their daughters, six grandsons, a granddaughter and her husband, and the husband of another granddaughter, a great-grandson and the husband of a great-granddaughter took part in the First Crusade. This extraordinary record was due largely to the offspring of Guy and Hodierna's four daughters, the legendary Montlhéry sisters whose procreativity was mentioned with awe by the twelfth-century historian William of Tyre.¹² They were married into the families of St Valéry and Le Puiset-Breteuil, which each sent three first crusaders, Le Bourcq of Rethel, which sent two, and Courtenay which provided one. If one adds to this the contribution from an array of closely related families — Chaumont-en-Vexin, Broys and Pont-Echanfray — two generations of this clan produced twenty-six, perhaps twenty-eight, crusaders to and settlers in the East.

The mother of Baldwin of Le Bourcq, later to be King Baldwin II, was one of the Montlhéry sisters. Baldwin was also related to the families of the counts of Burgundy and of Boulogne, one of his paternal grandmothers, Ida of Boulogne, being the aunt of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne. Belonging to the Lorrainer nobility, he marched from Europe in Godfrey's force and seems to have been a trusted and prominent member of that contingent. He accompanied Baldwin of Boulogne on a raid into Cilicia and he distinguished himself during the siege of Jerusalem, where he was wounded.¹³ A short while later, perhaps early in 1100, he was sent north to Antioch to serve Bohemond of Taranto in what looks like paid military service.¹⁴ Meanwhile, Godfrey had become the first ruler of Jerusalem and Baldwin of Boulogne count of Edessa. When news reached Baldwin of Boulogne in late August 1100 of Godfrey's death he summoned Baldwin of Le Bourcq from Antioch and handed the county of Edessa over to him before travelling south to claim the succession.¹⁵

Baldwin of Le Bourcq was to hold Edessa for the next eighteen years, in the course of which he arranged for his sister Cecilia to be married to Roger of Salerno, the prince-regent of Antioch,¹⁶ and brought in at least two of his cousins. In about 1103 he gave Joscelin of Courtenay, who had also taken part in the First Crusade, an enormous and strategically situated fief, centred on Tilbashir and comprising most of the frontier with the principality of Antioch,¹⁷

¹² WT 547.

¹³ AA 306, 310, 343, 350, 464, 468; FC 278; WT 161, 171, 174, 410.

¹⁴ AA 527.

¹⁵ FC 353; AA 527.

¹⁶ See FC 622.

¹⁷ WT 483.

and in 1117 he granted Waleran of Le Puiset the important fief of Bira, on the Euphrates.¹⁸ Late in 1112, however, he quarrelled with Joscelin, whom he accused of disloyalty. He imprisoned and then exiled him, depriving him of his lands. Joscelin made the journey down to Palestine where Baldwin of Boulogne, now Baldwin I of Jerusalem, granted him the important lordship of Galilee, on the frontier with Damascus.¹⁹ Joscelin soon granted a rear-fief in Galilee to another Monthéry cousin, William of Bures-sur-Yvette, who had settled in the East in 1114 'as an act of penance', presumably to expiate some act of violence perpetrated during the unsuccessful rebellion of a league of castellans against the king of France.²⁰

Meanwhile other Monthérys had arrived. Hugh II of Le Puiset, who had taken the cross for Bohemond of Taranto's crusade in 1107 — his wife, who accompanied him, was Bohemond's niece — reached Palestine perhaps in 1108, certainly before 1110, and was given by King Baldwin the other main strategic lordship in his kingdom, that of Jaffa, which faced the Egyptian beachhead at Ascalon. Hugh was dead by the middle of 1112 and a marriage was arranged for his widow; the idea seems to have been to keep the lordship warm for Hugh's son, another Hugh, who had been born in Apulia in 1106 or 1107.²¹

Hugh II of Le Puiset may have been accompanied to Palestine by a man called Barisan the Old, who by the time he first comes into view in 1115 had become constable of Jaffa.²² Barisan was the progenitor of the Ibelins, a family which was to be the most prominent noble house in Palestine in the thirteenth century. By then the Ibelins had some memory of descent from the Le Puisets, because their pedigree opens with the following statement: 'Balian [Barisan] the Frenchman was the brother of Count Guilin of Chartres.'²³ There never was a count of Chartres of that name and this has always been rejected as myth. Barisan's origins have been thought to have been obscure, one suggestion being that he was a knight from northern Italy.²⁴ But the name Guilin in the pedigree is perhaps an echo of that of Abbot Gilduin of St Mary of the Valley of

¹⁸ Matthew of Edessa 220.

¹⁹ WT 528–9.

²⁰ APC 430; Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa*, 46–8. William's brother or uncle, Guy II of Rochefort, made the pilgrimage with him. Tiron 1.17.

²¹ H. E. Mayer, 'The Origins of the County of Jaffa', *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985), 40–5.

²² Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 29.

²³ 'Les Lignages d'Outremer' 448.

²⁴ See P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 39.

Jehoshaphat, not himself a viscount of Chartres but the son and brother of viscounts. Barisan could have been Gilduin's illegitimate brother; or he could have been a brother-in-law, perhaps the brother of Hugh II's wife Mabel of Roucy; her mother had been a daughter of Robert Guiscard of Apulia and the Roucys, who commemorated this through the use of the names Guiscard and Robert Guiscard in subsequent generations,²⁵ could also have adopted another name with south Italian connotations, like Barisan. It is most likely, however, that Barisan was indeed Gilduin's brother, and therefore Hugh II's brother as well. This would have made him a first cousin of Baldwin of Le Bourcq, who was king after 1118. It is suggestive that two of Barisan's charters were witnessed by Montlhérys, one of them by two Montlhéry visitors from western Europe, Guy of Le Puiset and Guy I of Dampierre-sur-l'Aube.²⁶ He seems to have moved in exalted circles for a rear-vassal. He was, for instance, one of the few laymen referred to by name as being among those present at the important church council held at Nablus in 1120; he was probably there as regent for Hugh, the new and very young lord of Jaffa, who would have been his nephew.²⁷

At any rate, by 1118 members of the Montlhéry kindred were well placed in the Latin settlements in the Levant. Everyone seems to have been aware of the relationships between them, which were constantly referred to in charters and narrative accounts. They held, or could claim rights to, the two most important frontier lordships in the kingdom of Jerusalem — it is surely no coincidence that in the 1120s these frontier marches were the only lordships to have had constables among their lords' officials²⁸ — and among the vassals in these seigneuries their relations were also prominent. In the north, the count of Edessa and one of his most powerful magnates were members of the kin, while the count's sister was the wife of the prince-regent of Antioch.

The death of Baldwin I of Jerusalem on 2 April 1118 as he withdrew with his army from Egypt provided the Montlhérys with the opportunity to stage a *coup d'état*. On Palm Sunday (7 April), the day the king's body was brought into Jerusalem to be buried,

²⁵ Isenburg, Freytag von Loringhoven *et al.*, *Europäische Stammtafeln* 3, table 677.

²⁶ Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 41–2; Cart Hosp 1.71.

²⁷ *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* 21.263. See also RRH nos. 127, 137a.

²⁸ J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), 19.

Baldwin of Le Bourcq arrived suddenly and unannounced. He had come down from Edessa on pilgrimage to celebrate Easter and had heard of the king's death on the way. The vassals and leading churchmen of the kingdom met at once, presumably in what was later to be called a *parlement*, to discuss to whom the succession should be offered. There was a division of opinion, with a party headed by Joscelin of Courtenay and the patriarch, Arnulf of Chocques, an able but corrupt man who had come out as one of Robert of Normandy's chaplains, proposing that Baldwin of Le Bourcq should be offered the throne. Baldwin, Joscelin argued, was present in the East, was related to the previous king and had shown himself to be the kind of person who would make a good ruler. But the majority seems to have decided that the legitimate heir was the late king's eldest brother, Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had returned home after the First Crusade, and an embassy was immediately despatched to western Europe. After it had left a second meeting of the *parlement* was demanded by Joscelin. This second assembly, in the absence of at least some of Eustace's partisans, reversed its earlier decision and Baldwin was anointed king on Easter Day, although he was not crowned for another twenty-one months. The speed at which events had moved must have taken everyone's breath away: there had been two meetings of the *parlement*, the departure of an embassy to Europe and the sacring of a new king in the space of a week. Eustace and the mission from Jerusalem had reached Apulia on the journey East when the news reached them. The envoys were indignant, but Eustace, who had not been enthusiastic, turned back to avoid scandal.

It has been suggested that Baldwin I, knowing that Eustace was unlikely to accept the throne, had sent for Baldwin of Le Bourcq to discuss the succession with him, which would account for the latter's apparently sudden journey south. But there can be no doubt that Joscelin of Courtenay, who as lord of Galilee was the greatest magnate in the kingdom, had manipulated a *parlement* to get his first cousin the throne. His relationship with Baldwin of Le Bourcq may have soured when he had been expelled from Edessa five years before, but it was still one of blood and he, and the rest of the kin, were soon rewarded, as they had to be, given the importance to a new king whose legitimacy was open to question of having his 'natural friends' in positions of trust. Joscelin was granted the county of Edessa in the late summer of 1119 and William of Bures-sur-Yvette

was made lord of Galilee in his place.²⁹ In 1119 two other members of the family arrived in the East, no doubt hurriedly sent to bolster the king's position. The Cluniac prior Gilduin of Le Puiset was, as we have seen, at once made abbot of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the young Hugh of Le Puiset, the son of Hugh II and Mabel of Roucy who had spent his childhood in Apulia, had taken possession of Jaffa by January 1120 when he witnessed King Baldwin's grant to his uncle Abbot Gilduin, although he was 'not yet a knight'; in other words, he was still a minor.³⁰ The recognition of the lordship of a boy who cannot have been more than thirteen years old over one of the most strategically important frontiers of the kingdom is an indication of the king's reliance on his relations, but it may not have been as rash a move as it sounds, because Barisan the Old was constable of Jaffa and must have taken charge until the young man came of age. Later in his reign Baldwin II strengthened his position further by marrying one daughter to the new prince of Antioch and probably betrothing another to the son of the count of Tripoli.³¹

The way the Montlhéry *coup d'état* in Palestine had evoked an immediate response in support from the kindred in Europe demonstrates the strength of the ties which bound the settlers in the East to their families in the West 2,000 miles away, although in that case the kinsmen in Europe must have been expecting patronage; Joscelin of Courtenay had been penniless when he arrived in the East. Another illustration of the bonds of sentiment which chained the settlers to their old homelands is to be found in an account of the sending of a relic of St Stephen to the abbey of Cluny. In 1120 Gilduin of Le Puiset left Jerusalem with King Baldwin for Edessa; on their way they were joined by Gilduin's brother Waleran. At Edessa the party met its Latin archbishop, who over a decade earlier — certainly before 1109 — had stopped at Cluny on the way from Flanders to the East and had been made a *confrater* of the community by Abbot Hugh. The archbishop asked Gilduin for the latest news of the Cluniac congregation in Europe. The meeting and the conversation about Cluny and her daughter houses had a profound effect on him,

²⁹ WT 547–50; FC 615–16, 635; AA 709–10; Mayer, *Mélanges*, 73–89; Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa*, 45–6.

³⁰ Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 35; WT 651; Mayer, 'The Origins', 43–4.

³¹ H. E. Mayer, 'The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 140.

for they gave rise to a number of vivid dreams — he believed they were visions — in which he was instructed to give the relic to Gilduin for transmission to Cluny.³²

Writing several decades later, William of Tyre drew attention to the questionable nature of the events of 1118.³³ It seems that Baldwin's government was never entirely assured: when he was captured by the Muslims in 1123 and held by them for a time, Charles the Good of Flanders, who had experienced conditions in Palestine, as we have seen, was offered the throne in his place by what appears to have been a party of quite prominent individuals who thought that Baldwin had been miserly and had not governed well.³⁴ In 1129, at the time of the marriage of the king's daughter to Fulk V of Anjou, Pope Honorius II took the trouble to recognize in writing the validity of his succession.³⁵ But papal backing had been manifest from the beginning. Baldwin faced a military crisis almost as soon as he came to the throne, because on 28 June 1119 there occurred the catastrophe for the Christians in northern Syria, the Battle of the Field of Blood. The new king hurried north to take charge of the principality of Antioch and on 23 January 1120 the subject of a formal appeal to the West was discussed by the church council held at Nablus, at which the king was present. Embassies were then sent to the pope and the doge of Venice,³⁶ but there must have been an earlier appeal for help from Baldwin directly to the pope, whose response to it adds to the picture of a family network in operation.

News of the battle had reached the West by the autumn of 1119. At that time, Pope Calixtus II was travelling through France. While he was in Poitiers in August, he excommunicated a man called Chalo the Red of Vivonne, who had unjustly usurped land belonging to the church of St Hilaire-le-Grand. 'After this, the pope forbade with apostolic authority Chalo, who after his departure [from Poitiers] had rashly dared to take the cross for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to make the journey he intended.' Chalo repented and renounced his usurpation before St Hilary's tomb. This story is evidence that Calixtus had already proclaimed a crusade before the end of 1119, because Chalo 'took the cross'.³⁷ The pope had reacted very quickly.

³² 'Tractatus de reliquiis S. Stephani', 317–20.

³³ WT 550.

³⁴ Galbert of Bruges 564.

³⁵ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* 142.

³⁶ Riley-Smith, 'The Venetian Crusade', 340.

³⁷ St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847), 122, 128–9.

Of course he would have been inclined to do so anyway, given the reverence with which everyone regarded the Holy Land and the anxiety with which any threat to it would be greeted. He came, moreover, from the family of the counts of Burgundy which had shown itself to be strongly predisposed to crusading, as we have seen. But he was also, as one of his letters pointed out, Baldwin's kin.³⁸ It is not certain how the two men were related. It may have been through Calixtus' mother Stephanie, the origins of whom have never been discovered;³⁹ alternatively, it could have been established through the marriage of the king of France's son Philip to Elizabeth of Montlhéry and that of his elder brother King Louis VI to Calixtus' niece Adelaide of Maurienne. What matters is that Calixtus was himself conscious of kinship and that at this crucial moment the Montlhérys had a natural ally on the papal throne, who responded to the threat to Latin rule in the East, and therefore to the family, by instantly preaching a crusade, the first to be formally proclaimed since that of 1107. It must be significant that this crusade never seems to have been intended to engage itself in Syria, where the westerners had been defeated, but went instead to the Holy Land, 400 miles to the south, where Baldwin's seat of government was.

The insecurity of Baldwin's position, made worse by the fact that he and his wife bred only daughters, and the need to prove himself before Latin Christendom and perhaps especially in the eyes of his European relations, help to explain why in the middle 1120s he adopted a remarkably aggressive strategy towards his Muslim adversaries, Sunni Damascus and Shii Egypt. Damascus, the chief city of Syria, was in a chaotic state, wracked by problems which resulted from the focusing of Ismaili Assassin ambitions on it.⁴⁰ Fatimid Egypt had been visibly weakening for some time. The last major Egyptian expedition by land approached the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1118, shortly after Baldwin's accession. A large army, supplied from the sea, mustered on the southern border, where it was joined by a force from Damascus. The Christians took up position opposite it and the two sides faced it out for three months before the Egyptians withdrew.⁴¹ An even greater humiliation had to be endured by Egypt six years later. The city-port of Tyre acknowl-

³⁸ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* 129.

³⁹ Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 273.

⁴⁰ M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of Assassins* (The Hague, 1955), 104–5.

⁴¹ FC 617–19; WT 552–3.

edged Fatimid suzerainty and although a governor from Damascus had been installed at the citizens' request in 1112, the Fatimid caliph al-Amir had regained direct control ten years later by the expedient of kidnapping him. In 1123, however, the most effective force still at Egypt's disposal, its galley fleet, was so badly damaged by the Venetian ships which had arrived on crusade that when in 1124 the crusaders and the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem laid siege to Tyre, al-Amir had to admit to Damascus that he did not have the means to defend it. Damascus did what it could, but with no supporting action from Cairo, Tyre fell on 7 July.⁴² The Egyptian government had shown itself to be powerless and the loss of Tyre severely reduced the range of operations of its galley fleet, because the ships were now deprived of any harbour north of Ascalon where they could take on water.⁴³

In the summer of 1126, now refurbished and its sortie well publicized in advance, the fleet cruised north again, nosing from port to port as far as Beirut, looking without success for weaknesses it could exploit in its search for water. Baldwin, in an apparently rash move, ignored the news that the Egyptians were about to sail and marched north with part of his army to meet a Muslim threat to the borders of Antioch. This was justified as the confrontation of the greater of two dangers, but it may be that Baldwin did not take the war plans of the Egyptians very seriously, although he must have known that their recapture of one of the ports in Christian hands would have threatened his lines of communication to the West since a more northerly watering place would have increased the galleys' range sufficiently for them to have caused havoc in the crowded sea lanes near Cyprus.⁴⁴ He must have assumed that the cruise of the fleet was made more for public consumption than anything else.

Nevertheless, Egyptian troops held on to the beachhead at Ascalon, to which the Fatimid government sent reinforcements four times a year⁴⁵ and from which raids could be launched to ravage Christian territory and threaten traffic on the roads almost as far as Jerusalem: two took place in 1124.⁴⁶ Our knowledge of what transpired is sketchy, but the course of events seems to have been as

⁴² Ibn al-Qalanisi 128–30, 142, 165–6, 170–2; Ibn al-Athir 1.356–9. For the fall of Tyre, see Runciman, *A History*, 2.168–71.

⁴³ Pryor, *Geography*, 115–16.

⁴⁴ FC 800–5; WT 612. See Pryor, *Geography*, 116–22.

⁴⁵ WT 607.

⁴⁶ FC 697–8, 731–2; WT 595, 599–600.

follows. The fall of Tyre in 1124 was followed in the autumn of 1125 by a descent by Baldwin on Ascalon, using troops he had already assembled to raid the territory of Damascus, during which the garrison, which had just been reinforced, was severely mauled.⁴⁷ This was a pre-emptive strike, giving Baldwin the freedom to turn on Damascus in January 1126 without apparently worrying about his southern frontier. All fief-holders and others throughout the kingdom were summoned to his army by an *arrière ban*, and troops from Jaffa, Ramle and Lydda, who might normally have been expected to hold the line against Ascalon, were mentioned marching north to the muster.⁴⁸ The king seems to have adopted a similar high-risk strategy two years later. Early in April 1128 his army was devastating the countryside around Ascalon. The crops would have been quite mature by this time and their destruction, and the consequent food shortages, would probably have meant that the garrison at Ascalon had to be temporarily reduced in size.⁴⁹ The *chevauchée* was followed by another attack on Damascus in 1129 in conjunction with the new crusade which had now reached Palestine.⁵⁰

More light is thrown on Christian strategy by three charters granted to two religious institutions which seem to have been especially favoured by the Montlhéry kindred in Palestine. One of them was the abbey of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat where, as has been mentioned, a member of the clan was abbot. The other was the Hospital of St John, which from before 1126 had embryonic commanderies in Jaffa and Tiberias, the chief towns in those lordships with active frontiers against the Muslims ruled by members of the kindred.⁵¹ The charters were associated with or were issued in the name of Hugh of Jaffa, who had now come of age. They recorded gifts made in 1126 and probably 1127 by the constable Barisan and Hugh himself of properties well within 'the territory or lordship' of Ascalon, 'for the condition of Christianity' and for the redemption of the souls of Hugh's parents and all his relations, and 'so that God should hand over the rebel city of Ascalon to the Christians'.⁵² The endowments for St Mary and the Hospital had the blessing of the

⁴⁷ FC 773–4; WT 607–8.

⁴⁸ FC 784–5; WT 608.

⁴⁹ Cart Hosp 1.78.

⁵⁰ WT 620–2; Ibn al-Qalanisi 195–200; Ibn al-Athir 1.385–6; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 251.

⁵¹ Cart Hosp 1.71, 73.

⁵² Cart Hosp 1.71, 72–3; Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Kohler) 119–20 (wrongly dated: it must date from the same period as the other charters). Cf. Mayer, *Bistümer*, 151–60.

king, who confirmed the gift to St Mary in 1130,⁵³ even though it had previously been assumed that Ascalon would be part of the royal domain once it had been taken.⁵⁴ It looks as though in the autumn of 1125, at the time of his first *razzia* into the region, or at any rate just before his expedition to Damascus in January 1126, Baldwin had given Hugh lordship over Ascalon in advance of its conquest, possibly in return for him keeping up pressure on it or perhaps even organizing its occupation by force. Such an arrangement on the Christian marches may not have been unusual. The Hospitallers were to be given other territories outside Christian control when they were endowed with Crac des Chevaliers in 1144 and other castles on the frontiers of Tripoli and Antioch in 1168, 1184 and 1186.⁵⁵

In the seven years from 1124, therefore, Tyre had been occupied; the two chief Muslim enemies, Cairo and Damascus, had been taken on at the same time, with major attacks on Damascus or its territory being launched in 1126 and 1129; two raids into the countryside around Egyptian Ascalon had been accompanied by the granting of it to the closest Christian marcher lord, Hugh of Jaffa, who was the king's cousin. It must be indicative that no record has survived of any action, or threat of action, by Muslim raiders from Ascalon between 1126 and 1132. And it may also be that now an Egyptian government sued for peace.

The Fatimid caliph al-Amir was assassinated in 1130. His son, only a few months old, was proclaimed his heir, but was soon murdered and a death from natural causes was announced by al-Amir's cousin and future successor, the regent al-Hafiz. But al-Hafiz was himself imprisoned by the new wazir, Abu Ali Ahmad ibn al-Afdal, known as Kutayfat, the son of the wazir al-Afdal who had tried to retake Palestine from the First Crusade in 1099. Kutayfat had retained the loyalty of his father's regiment and so was able to seize power, but he was not a caliph and the Friday sermons in the mosques did not name one. Rather, since the direct line of the Fatimid dynasty had been extinguished, the Egyptian empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Hidden Imam. It is noteworthy that the Imam regarded as being in occultation — in hiding until he would reappear on the Last Days — was the Twelfth, the mahdi of the Imamis, and it has been pointed out that this effectively abolished Ismailism as

⁵³ Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 47.

⁵⁴ Urkunden Venedig 1.88, 92–3.

⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John*, 55–7, 66–8.

Egypt's state religion. The *katibs* had to declaim a grandiloquent list of titles accorded by Kutayfat to himself as protector of the rights of the Hidden Imam.

Kutayfat was murdered by guards loyal to the Fatimids in December 1131.⁵⁶ In his short period of government he had taken the unprecedented step of appointing or replacing the four chief *qadis* in Cairo — of the Shafiis, Malikis, Ismailis and Imamis: 'the like of this had never been heard of before in the faith of Islam' — and he also allowed a new Coptic patriarch to be consecrated after a six-year vacancy in the patriarchate.⁵⁷ Although the details of his rule seem to have been expunged from the Fatimid records, it may be that he had instituted a policy of religious toleration to gain support, although it was said later that he had proclaimed the religion of anti-Shiism and had persecuted the Ismailis.⁵⁸

Three months before his death he sent an embassy to Jerusalem. The evidence for this is to be found in a memorandum in the cartulary of the college of St Laud in Angers, which had been founded by Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou some time before 1060 and was favoured by his successors. The memorandum, written in the 1130s by the dean, Guy of Athée, detailed some of the rights enjoyed at St Laud by the counts. Among them is the following:

When a count who has been newly created comes to the church he should be received solemnly in procession by the chapter and clerks of St Laud and furthermore whenever the count — . . . or the countess or their children — returns from a long pilgrimage or period away they should be received by the dean or by him who will be superior of the church with gospel book and thurible and holy water, and . . . the dean should solemnly hand the count the ivory *tau* which Fulk, king of Jerusalem and count of the Angevins, gave this church. Fulk had it [the *tau*] from the sultan of Babylon [Egypt] when Christ raised him to be king of Jerusalem.

I, Guy of Athée, with the whole chapter of the church and the clerks, have received the count of the Angevins often in this way. And King Fulk gave the *tau* to our church for this reason — that we should receive the counts in this way — and he ordered and wished that this should signify that the counts of the Angevins are lords and abbots of the church of St Laud before all other churches.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Athir 1.390–1, 393–5; S. M. Stern, 'The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Amir, the Claims of the Later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the Rise of Tayyibi Ismailism', *Oriens* 4 (1951), 193–255.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to Dr Michael Brett for providing me with this information.

⁵⁸ Stern, 'The Succession', 199–200.

⁵⁹ St Laud d'Angers 4–5. For the college, see St Laud d'Angers vi–xiii.

The St Laud memorandum provides evidence for a visit by Egyptian envoys at the time of, or shortly after, the coronation of Fulk of Anjou and Melisende of Jerusalem on 14 September 1131, three weeks after Baldwin II's death. Contemporary descriptions of Egyptian embassies often refer to the gifts they brought with them: in the autumn of 1126 an ambassador brought to Damascus 'magnificent robes of honour and costly Egyptian presents' and another in September 1147 brought 'a gift of horses and money'.⁶⁰ The ivory *tau* must have been only one of a number of presents. Some historians have confused it with the famous relic of the True Cross which Fulk also sent St Laud, but it is clear that the *tau* was a T-shaped staff. Ivory *tau* staffs were quite commonly carved in the medieval East and a number of examples of them survive.⁶¹ Fulk obviously intended it to be used in much the same way as were those sceptres which denoted lordship when presented to property owners. He wished it to be a symbol of the authority of the son he had left behind and of his future descendants in the county of Anjou, and an expression of their patronage of a family religious foundation. His reaction on receiving it — to think of some use for it at home — was predictable. What proved to be less predictable was his policy on becoming king.

Since his coronation was held so soon after Baldwin's death, the Egyptian embassy may well have been originally intended to address the latter. It could have signalled the success of Baldwin's aggressive policy towards the Muslims, but if it came offering terms, these must have been refused,⁶² although it could be that al-Hafiz, who assumed power in Egypt after Kutayfat's assassination and was a far more able ruler than his predecessors, took a more aggressive line against the Latin settlers from the start. The first sign of a renewed Christian anxiety about the Muslim garrison at Ascalon is to be found in 1132, probably early in the year when King Fulk was absent in the north, and so within months of the visit of the Egyptian embassy. The patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem built a castle, Chastel Hernaut, in the foothills of the Judaeac hills to protect the road to their city from Egyptian raiders.⁶³ By 1136 the threat from Ascalon to the kingdom

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Qalanisi 179, 280.

⁶¹ A. Maskell, *Ivories* (London, 1905), 193. For the relic, see A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), 322.

⁶² For the principles behind and the methods of making truces between Christians and Muslims, see M. A. Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vordern Orient* (Berlin and New York, 1991), 390–418.

⁶³ WT 640.

was so great that Fulk had begun to construct a ring of fortresses round it to contain its garrison; they included the one he granted to the Hospitallers.⁶⁴

Fulk's acceptance of the hand of Melisende had followed long negotiations, the matters at issue being the legitimacy of Baldwin's position and Melisende's status as an heiress to the throne, which would have been on everyone's mind because of the parallel case of Mathilda of England, another woman whose succession was raising doubts. Mathilda had been betrothed to Fulk's son Geoffrey in the summer of 1127 and she had married him on 17 June 1128, shortly after Fulk had taken the cross for the new crusade. It has been suggested that the English precedent, in which King Henry I declared her to be his heir on 1 January 1127, was echoed in Palestine in the recognition of Melisende as *heres regni*, an act which overcame any doubts that Fulk might have had about his future.⁶⁵

But why had Fulk been approached at all? It could have been simply that he was a relatively powerful nobleman, was free to marry since his first wife had died, and had shown himself to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Latin settlements in the Levant; he had paid for 100 knights to serve in the Holy Land at the end of his first crusade in 1120⁶⁶ and had been closely associated with the Templars.⁶⁷ But there probably was more to it than that. The 'rightful heir' of 1118, Eustace of Boulogne, had died in 1125, but in that year his daughter and heiress, another Mathilda, had married Stephen of Blois, who took the title of count of Boulogne and was to underline the Boulogne inheritance by naming his first son Eustace. Stephen, who was a younger son of the first crusader Stephen of Blois and had been brought up and favoured by his uncle Henry of England, was also a claimant for the English throne — after the death in 1128 of Robert of Normandy's son William Clito, a strong claimant — and in the end resolved to compete for that. There is no evidence, as far as I am aware, for him seriously considering a bid for the throne of Jerusalem on the basis of his wife's inheritance, but the mere fact of Mathilda of Boulogne's marriage must have caused anxiety in Palestine and Stephen would inevitably have been seen as a threat to Melisende's future succession. This may have persuaded Baldwin

⁶⁴ WT 659–61; Cart Hosp 1.97–8.

⁶⁵ Mayer, 'The Succession', 143–6.

⁶⁶ WT 633; although Mayer ('The Succession', 145 n.35) was worried by the fact that William appeared to be referring to a second pilgrimage by Fulk.

⁶⁷ OV 6.310.

and his advisers to make their proposal to Fulk, a man who, they must have known, had already taken on Stephen on the borders of Normandy in one of the petty wars which plagued French political life and had defeated him.⁶⁸

At any rate the offer of Melisende's hand was carried to France by the Montlhéry William of Bures-sur-Yvette and the crusade of 1129 which followed was encompassed, like the *coup d'état* in 1118, by Montlhéry activity. In 1127 Guy I of Dampierre-sur-l'Aube, whose mother was a Montlhéry,⁶⁹ appeared in the East, together with another cousin, Guy of Le Puiset.⁷⁰ In 1128 Stephen of Chartres, the abbot of St Jean-en-Vallée of Chartres who was referred to by William of Tyre as Baldwin's blood relation and was a member of the family of the vidames of Chartres which must have been related to the Le Puisets, came to Palestine on pilgrimage. He was waiting for a ship home when the patriarch of Jerusalem died. He was promptly elevated to the patriarchate, although this move was not a success, because his desire to reclaim what he believed to have been the rights of the patriarchate led to a bitter quarrel with the king.⁷¹ By March 1129 Guitier of Rethel, the son of Baldwin's sister Mathilda of Le Bourcq, had arrived in the East; he witnessed a charter of his uncle's, with his cousins Melisende of Jerusalem, Gilduin of Le Puiset and Hugh of Jaffa, in the presence of his cousin the patriarch.⁷² Then Viscount Hugh III of Chartres, the head of the Le Puiset family, crusaded.⁷³ If he travelled with Count Fulk and the Angevins, which is likely, Fulk arrived in Palestine flanked by two Montlhérys, because William of Bures-sur-Yvette returned with him.⁷⁴ It looks as though the choice of Fulk was a Montlhéry device to shore up the government established in 1118.

Even more to the point, the crusade of 1129 which accompanied Fulk to Palestine was a Montlhéry creation and must be viewed as an exercise to reinforce the status quo. William of Tyre, who wrote several decades later but was chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem and had access to governmental records, looked on the departure on a preaching tour of the West by the master of the Templars, Hugh of Payns (who owed so much to Baldwin's favour that he could be

⁶⁸ C. W. Hollister, 'The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126: Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), 19–41.

⁶⁹ Isenburg, Freytag von Loringhoven *et al.*, *Europäische Stammtafeln* 3, table 51.

⁷⁰ Notre-Dame de Josaphat (Delaborde) 42.

⁷¹ WT 619–20.

⁷² St Sépulcre de Jérusalem 93 (in which he witnessed as *sororius* of King Baldwin II).

⁷³ Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 170; Tiron 1.128.

⁷⁴ WT 618.

regarded as the king's creature), as a consequence solely of a decision made by Baldwin and his advisers. Hugh and certain other churchmen, including the archbishop of Tyre and the bishop of Ramle, 'were sent to the western princes in order to arouse people to come to our aid and especially to call on the powerful to join a siege of Damascus.'⁷⁵ The rôle of Pope Honorius II, who certainly knew of the crusade since in one of his letters he referred to recruitment in Anjou,⁷⁶ seems to have been passive. There is no evidence of papal initiative or of papal legates at work.

The Montlhéry enterprise foundered, however, on Fulk's independence of mind. It is clear that from the start of his reign he was determined to change the direction in which the kingdom had been moving and to reverse the policies of the 1120s. He signalled this by choosing to be crowned not in Bethlehem, as his two predecessors had been, but in Jerusalem, under the Sepulchre rotunda. This may have been because the date chosen for his coronation was 14 September, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, commemorating the discovery of the True Cross;⁷⁷ or it may have reflected his personal dévotion to the cross. But whatever it meant, his coronation marked a clean break with the predilections of his predecessors.

Upsetting a family enterprise is never easy, as two contemporaries, of different religious persuasions and two thousand miles apart, testified. In Normandy the monk-historian Orderic Vitalis reported that Fulk

looked less wisely to the future than he should and changed governors and other officials too quickly and unreasonably. As a new ruler he banished from his household the lords who from the first had fought strenuously against the Turks . . . and replaced them with Angevin strangers and other newly-arrived unsophisticates . . . So there arose great rancour.⁷⁸

In Damascus Ibn al-Qalanisi made almost the same charge.

[Fulk] was not sound in his judgement nor was he successful in his administration, so that by the loss of Baldwin [II] they [the settlers] were thrown into confusion and discordance.⁷⁹

Both these authors referred to trouble and in fact there was a revolt early in the reign, involving Hugh of Jaffa, whom Fulk had

⁷⁵ WT 620.

⁷⁶ *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* 139, 142.

⁷⁷ H. E. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 154.

⁷⁸ OV 6.390–2.

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Qalanisi 208.

accused of treason. William of Tyre was later to suggest that it was the rumour that Hugh was having an affair with Melisende — they were, of course, both Montlhéry, as William knew — that led to bad blood between him and the king. It may be, however, that the 'familiaria colloquia' which Hugh and Melisende were suspected of having were family discussions about how to retrieve a situation that was getting out of hand. At any rate, with the support of a dispossessed lord of Transjordan Hugh rebelled, refused to appear for a judicial duel and, faced by the confiscation of his fief, sailed down the coast to Ascalon, where he made a treaty with the Egyptian garrison. The Egyptians raided Christian territory as far as Arsuf. When Fulk responded by besieging Jaffa, Hugh's leading vassals, including Barisan, deserted him. After mediation by the patriarch, Hugh accepted the judgement that he and his supporters should be exiled for three years, during which time the crown would enjoy the revenues from his fiefs. But after three years Jaffa would be restored to him, and it is clear that the king had little public support, while Hugh enjoyed much, particularly after a Breton knight had tried to assassinate him.⁸⁰

Hugh's sentence was an extraordinarily light one, given the fact that an *établissement* on the confiscation of fiefs, which dated from Baldwin II's reign, had decreed permanent disinheritance for anyone who entered into possession of a fief using Muslim force, against his lord's will and without judgement of court,⁸¹ which is precisely what Hugh had envisaged doing. The historian William of Tyre inveighed against the enormity of Hugh's crime, but William had been a child in the 1130s and was writing many years later. It has been suggested, on the basis of Orderic Vitalis's comments, that the real cause of Hugh's rebellion was the king's determination to bring in new men of his own to replace the old household officials.⁸² One can also speculate that the revolt, which followed relatively shortly after the visit to Jerusalem of the Egyptian embassy, was connected in some way with Fulk's reaction to whatever the Egyptians had proposed. It is possible that Kutayfat, whom, incidentally, the St Laud memor-

⁸⁰ WT 651–6. Both William of Tyre and Ibn al-Qalanisi (215) seem to assign Hugh's revolt to late 1132. Professor H. E. Mayer ('Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 102–5) has dated it, however, to the second half of 1134.

⁸¹ *Le Livre au roi* 177–84. For the date, see J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Further Thoughts on Baldwin II's *Etablissement* on the Confiscation of Fiefs', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 176–80.

⁸² Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans', 1–25.

andum was nearly correct in describing as sultan — he actually referred to himself as *malik* or prince⁸³ — had been feeling so isolated and threatened that he was prepared to surrender the beachhead at Ascalon. If so, Ascalon would have been almost within Hugh's grasp, since his rights to it had already been recognized by Fulk's predecessor. What seems to be certain is that Hugh was representing the interests of the Montlhéryys, who were now being deprived of influence by a king they had put on the throne. The dominance of a family of middle-ranking French nobles, who had taken over the Latin East and had been responsible for initiating one, and perhaps two, crusades, was coming to an end.

Since the Montlhéryys were the first clan to exploit the movement in this way they present us with a model. The concentration of first crusaders in the family suggests that it must have been predisposed in some way to respond to the earliest calls to crusade. Armsbearers had to finance themselves, unless lucky enough to find a magnate to subsidize them, and had to engage in lengthy and protracted preparations. They were, therefore, exceptionally dependent on family support and this gave the kindred influence at a crucial stage in the development of crusading and no doubt reinforced collective commitment to it. Two Montlhéryys were among the first settlers, and one of them was independently related to the greatest figures in the Latin East and was talented enough to be rewarded by them with lordship. He in turn patronized other relations, including new arrivals. Members of the family were, therefore, well placed when in 1118 they were provided with an opportunity to seize the ultimate power. And the characteristic way the instinct for cooperation and mutual assistance would bring a whole kindred-group, or a substantial part of it, into line behind an initiative is demonstrated by the attempts by the family, in the West as well as in the East, to lend support to Baldwin of Le Bourcq through settlement, influence or visits to Palestine. It should be remembered that although the additional inducement of advancement through family patronage must have played a part, it cannot have been responsible for all the activities of the kinsmen, because some, who came to the kingdom of Jerusalem for short periods and then returned home, had nothing obvious to gain from their visits

⁸³ Ibn al-Athir 1.394.

The crusading movement was susceptible to exploitation of this kind because it relied on individual responses which might provide opportunities for anyone to shine and on support for those responses from relations and lords. It, and the settlements in Palestine and Syria it established and helped to maintain, fed on enthusiasms within a western European society in which kindred networks were rampant. Crusading, particularly in the earliest period when it was still inchoate and uncontrolled, was so dependent on the reactions of committed European kin-groups that it could be manipulated by them relatively easily.

Conclusion and Postscript

Conclusion

In this book I have tried to argue the following. Crusading drew on the traditions of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, whether as a penance or a devotion, and of pious violence. These traditions did not merge gradually together, but were fused by Pope Urban II in 1095. He was able to do this because the radical idea that war could be penitential had surfaced in Gregorian circles in the early 1080s. The First Crusade was, therefore, a truly revolutionary event, because the pope presented the faithful with an idea which had been unprecedented in Christian thought. The response of the armsbearers to it, however, was to be as important as the idea itself, because the proposal for a campaign to liberate Jerusalem was dependent on their cooperation. Their reaction naturally reflected their own preoccupations, so that in some ways they interpreted Urban's message in a manner that must have horrified him and in others viewed it in a conservative light, but there can be no doubt that they seized on the central theme: that they could contribute to their own salvation by engaging with the world in a crusade rather than abandoning it for the religious life. Their response was at the same time spontaneous and preconditioned. Some families had become predisposed to react positively to an appeal of this sort and although the assumption of the cross must often have been the result of a sudden, independent decision, the practical difficulties involved in fulfilling the vow — the raising of cash, the purchase of animals and equipment, the choice of household, arrangements for the management of the estates in his absence, endowments for prayer on his behalf — meant that the volunteer was dependent not only on local religious communities, but also on his lord and especially on his family, the cooperation of which in the preliminary stages was essential. This accounts for the clusters of crusaders which can be found in kindred groups. It bred a collective

commitment which in the early twelfth century could manifest itself not so much in crusading, although it sometimes did, as in support for the new settlements in the East. I have concluded that the movement was so dependent on the support and enthusiasm of networks of kindred that it was open to domination by them and I have provided the example of the Montlhéry clan. One reason, incidentally, for the initiative of King Louis VII of France, which helped to lead to the crusade of 1147, may have been the fear that if he did not personally respond to the news of the disaster which had overtaken the county of Edessa, which was still a Montlhéry lordship, the kindred might do something themselves.

Postscript:
The Lusignans

I have confined my arguments to the first few decades of the crusading movement, but I am inclined to believe that, although conditions changed, nothing was ever able to prevent well-organized families from taking advantage of crusading if the opportunity arose for them to do so. For example, fifty years after the Montlhéry's bid had failed, another western family made its first move, in a way that could hardly have been more dramatic.

In an account purportedly written by someone close to the events and in a history composed by an English priest who was in Palestine ten years later there are references to a scandal involving Sibylla, the sister of King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem and therefore Baldwin of Le Bourcq's great-granddaughter. Aimery of Lusignan, who had a reputation as a fighting man, had settled in Palestine, where he had married the daughter of Baldwin of Ibelin, a descendant of Barisan the Old and one of the leading nobles. He had become the lover of Agnes of Courtenay, Sibylla's mother and Joscelin of Courtenay's granddaughter, and he had been appointed constable of the kingdom. He and Agnes set about persuading Sibylla, who had recently been widowed, to consider marrying his brother Guy, whom Aimery went to France to fetch. Sibylla at once fell in love with Guy and shared his bed. This forced the king to agree to their marriage, which, according to William of Tyre, took place in the Easter season of 1180 'against custom'; in other words, it was a hurried affair.¹

Chance had again brought another seigneurial family of moderate

¹ Emoul, *Chronique*, 59–60; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* 1.343; WT 1007.

status to the foreground. It was one which, like the Montlhéry, had shown a predisposition to crusading from the start and by the late twelfth century it had developed traditions of commitment to the cause of the Latin East. The great-grandfather of Guy and Aimery, Hugh VI of Lusignan, and a horde of relations, including their great-great-uncles Raymond of St Gilles and Herbert and Geoffrey of Thouars, had been on the First Crusade. Both their grandfathers, Hugh VII² and Geoffrey III of Rancon,³ had taken part in the crusade of 1147 and their father, Hugh VIII, had been captured in Syria in 1164 and had died a prisoner of the Muslims.⁴

Baldwin IV, who suffered from leprosy, succumbed to the disease in 1185 and his successor, Sibylla's eight-year-old son by a previous marriage, died in 1186. In spite of opposition from a party of nobles of whom Count Raymond III of Tripoli was the most prominent, an opposition generated partly by Guy's poor performance as regent during one of Baldwin's periods of incapacity, Sibylla and Guy engineered their joint succession to the throne. On 4 July 1187, however, Guy led the largest army ever put into the field by the kingdom of Jerusalem to annihilation by Muslim forces under Saladin. He was held prisoner by the Muslims until the summer of 1188. By then all of Palestine had been lost except for Tyre, which had been saved by a new arrival, Conrad of Montferrat, a member of a much grander family than the Lusignans: he was related to both the German emperor and the king of France. Refused entry to Tyre by Conrad, Guy marched south in April 1189 to lay siege to Acre, the most important port on the Palestinian coast. This courageous act decided the course the crusade of 1189 (the Third Crusade) would take.⁵

I have already described how the first crusaders Hugh of Lusignan and Raymond of St Gilles shared the same mother, Almodis of La Marche. Her life casts a shadow across the crisis-events of the late 1180s and early 1190s. Guy of Lusignan, Raymond of Tripoli, Guy's leading opponent before 1187, and Richard I of England, Guy's staunchest ally after his arrival in the summer of 1191 and the Lusignans' lord in Poitou, were all descended from her; and the

² 'Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici VII' 126.

³ 'Historia gloriosi regis Ludovici' 126; Eudes of Deuil 114, 122, 128; Suger of St Denis, 'Epistolae', 502.

⁴ Louis VII, 'Epistolarum regis Ludovici VII et variorum ad eum volumen', 62; WT 873, 875; St Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers (1847) 214.

⁵ See Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, 109–14.

marriage of Richard's father, Henry II, who was Sibylla of Jerusalem's first cousin, to Eleanor of Aquitaine, through whom descent from Almodis passed, meant that Sibylla herself was distantly related to the Lusignans. Contemporaries were aware of these ties of kinship. Raymond of Tripoli's supporter William of Tyre must have been conscious of them, because in his *Chronicle* he referred to Hugh VI of Lusignan as the brother of Raymond of St Gilles.⁶ As for Richard of England, events at home would have brought the genealogy of the Lusignans forcefully to his attention.

Richard had governed Aquitaine on behalf of his father. In December 1177 the last count of La Marche of the house of Charroux, whose only son was dead and whose daughter was infertile, had sold his county to Henry of England for an insignificant sum. There were rumours that Henry had put pressure on him to do so. Geoffrey of Lusignan, an elder brother of Guy and Aimery who headed the family on behalf of his youthful nephew Hugh IX, claimed La Marche for himself and his brothers 'by hereditary right'. This must have meant by virtue of descent from Almodis's eldest son, Hugh VI of Lusignan, whereas Henry's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, could claim descent, and therefore hereditary rights to La Marche, only through a daughter of Almodis's third son. Geoffrey tried to take La Marche by force. He failed, but the Lusignans did not give up their claims and by the early 1180s were denying Richard control of the county. They eventually got it by kidnapping the aged Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1199 and holding her until it was surrendered to them.⁷

That was after the crusade of 1189–92, but during it Richard showed the Lusignans exceptional marks of favour. Sibylla died in 1190, as did the daughters she had borne Guy, and a challenge was made to Guy's kingship by Conrad of Montferrat and his new wife Isabella of Jerusalem, Sibylla's half-sister.⁸ By this time the Lusignans

⁶ WT 476.

⁷ GV 12.446–7; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* 1.196–7; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, 2.147–8; Robert of Torigni 274–5; Ralph of Diceto, 'Ymagines Historiarum', 1.425; *Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges* 188–9; Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan', 41–3; W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), 585. The editor of GV (447 note b) thought that the claim to La Marche was based on Hugh IX of Lusignan's marriage to Mahaut of Angoulême, a niece of Pontia of La Marche. But Hugh did not marry Mahaut until 1194. The marriage would not anyway have given the other Lusignans any claims. For the marriages of Hugh IX, see Isenburg, Freytag von Loringhoven *et al.*, *Europäische Stammtafeln* 3, table 816.

⁸ For this and the politics of the Third Crusade in Palestine, see Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility*, 114–20.

were strongly represented in Palestine and one has the impression of members of the family gearing themselves up in support of the break-through that chance had brought one of them, although in this case the representation was much less extended than it had been with the Montlhérys, being confined to brothers and a nephew. Hugh IX of Lusignan was in Richard of England's crusading force which wintered in Sicily and conquered Cyprus before reaching Palestine on 8 June 1191. Geoffrey had already joined Guy and Aimery in the East, and Geoffrey and Guy sailed to meet Richard in Cyprus, asked for his help and recognized his leadership. For his part, Richard welcomed Guy 'because he was from a very well-born family with well-known relations'. He lent him 2,000 marks in cash and a quantity of gold and silver, and he put him in command of a large part of the army with which he was reducing the island.⁹ After Acre had fallen to the Christians on 12 July, Richard and King Philip II of France, who was also on crusade, agreed to adjudicate between the two claimants for the throne of Jerusalem. They judged that Guy should retain it for life and that Conrad and Isabella should in the meantime hold the northern part of the kingdom, but they also proposed that the royal apanage of Jaffa and Ascalon, with, perhaps, overlordship of Caesarea, should be granted to Geoffrey of Lusignan, the man, it should be remembered, who had claimed La Marche, had tried to seize it by force in 1178 and had been a thorn in Richard's side in Poitou. Jaffa and Ascalon were not yet back in Christian hands, of course. When they were, the southern frontier would have to be secured and Geoffrey was a notable soldier. Nevertheless, with Guy in possession of Acre (even if Philip of France had handed Conrad of Montferrat half its rents), Aimery as constable and Geoffrey holding an enormous fief in the south, the Lusignans' rôle in the kingdom would be guaranteed even after Guy's death and the passing of the throne to Conrad.¹⁰ Their standing was beginning to look like that built up by the Montlhérys in the 1120s.

The opposition to Guy of a section of the local nobility and by the French crusaders in Palestine was so strongly expressed that the arbitration of the western kings proved to be unworkable. After eight months Richard had to agree to Guy's surrender of government to Conrad, but he proceeded to compensate Guy in an extravagant

⁹ Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, cols. 46–7, 53–4; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta regis Ricardi* 195, 199, 201–2; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* 2.165–6.

¹⁰ *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* 2.183–4; *Itinerarium peregrinorum* 235–6; Ambroise col. 135.

way. He had originally sold Cyprus, which was known to be rich,¹¹ cheaply to the Templars, to whom he was close, but they had had difficulty holding it. The costs of war meant that crusaders' appetites for cash were virtually unquenchable and Richard had a reputation as a hard bargainer where money was concerned. It is, therefore, astonishing that he should have agreed when Guy asked if he might buy the island from him for the same sum of 100,000 besants negotiated with the Templars. Since the authors of the lawbook, *Le Livre au roi*, which was written shortly after this, assumed that a knight in Palestine could be enfeoffed for an annual rent of 300 besants,¹² the cost of Cyprus to Guy was the equivalent of maintaining c.330 knights for one year, which was not much in the circumstances. Guy made a down-payment of 60,000 besants. He never paid the rest, but on the other hand Richard had already had 40,000 from the Templars.¹³

Later in the 1190s Richard again ostentatiously showed favour to the Lusignans. Hugh IX's brother Ralph of Lusignan was given the hand of the heiress of the count of Eu and became the lord of great estates in Normandy and England.¹⁴ But Richard was holding on to La Marche and it is probable that his staunch support for Guy's claim to the throne of Jerusalem long after it had become obvious that this was not acceptable in Palestine, the creation of a great lordship for Geoffrey and the sale of Cyprus on very advantageous terms to Guy were at least partly motivated by a desire to pacify their family, the claims of which to La Marche he could not satisfy.

At any rate the Lusignans, like the Montlhérys before them, found outside support at a crucial time and they were to establish a royal dynasty which ruled Cyprus (and laid claim to Jerusalem) for nearly three centuries. In the 1120s the Montlhérys had had the advantage of an extended cousinhood and the support of two popes. In the 1190s the Lusignans exploited family, although from a narrower base, and benefited from the anxieties of a European king. Both families demonstrate a kind of *blitzkrieg* mentality. Drawing on their natural instincts for mutual solidarity and cooperation, and in some cases with an eye on a share of the rewards, kindred would range themselves behind any one of their number fortunate or talented

¹¹ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, 14.

¹² *Le Livre au roi* 233.

¹³ *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* 136–9. For Richard's relations with the Templars, see Barber, *The New Knighthood*, 119.

¹⁴ Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan', 42.

enough to have found a way to power. The Lusignans were not the last middle-ranking European family to try to seize control of the eastern end of the crusading movement — the Briennes were to attempt something similar in the thirteenth century — and like the Montlhérys they demonstrate how prone a movement depending on spontaneous reactions, individual enterprise and collective support was to determined initiatives.

Appendix I— Preliminary List of Crusaders

The list which follows is arranged chronologically and subdivided into those who I am certain, or relatively certain, took the cross, those who I think probably did and those who possibly did. The argument in the book has drawn only on evidence relating to the first two of these categories. Toponyms are given in modern forms. Each entry includes a guide to the evidence I have found to support an entry, except with respect to the best-known of the leaders — references to secondary works seemed to be sufficient in their cases — and a reference number which will help the reader find the crusader's place of origin on the maps. Those whose places of origin are unknown have the words 'Not located' entered after the number. No 'possible' crusader is referred to in the maps. I must stress that what has qualified a man or woman for entry is evidence for the taking of the cross, not actual participation, although most of those referred to here did join one or other of the armies. I have not distinguished between the various waves of the First Crusade, except in the cases of men who went on two of them, since it is usually impossible to establish the date when a man or woman volunteered.

I have trawled through all the narrative sources and many of the cartularies and other collections of documents, but this is a report of work in progress and many more names are likely to be discovered in future. I have not made use of the poems *Jérusalem* and *Chétifs* in the cycle of crusade epics, although they may well contain authentic material, and, mindful of the demolition of the historicity of the cycle of crusade *chansons* by Robert Cook ('*Chanson d'Antioch*', *Chanson de Geste, passim*), I have treated only as possibilities most of the uncorroborated names in the North French recension of *Antioche* and the early fragment of the Provençal version of it. And, with a few exceptions, I have not included names from the Spanish translation of the Provençal version in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, because it is

very corrupt, although no doubt there is also real evidence buried in it somewhere. I have also ignored the names to be found in the very late Chronicle of Zimmern, unless there is corroboration elsewhere, but I have included the three Zimmern brothers; two of them as 'possibles', and the third, Frederick, about whom circumstantial details are provided in the Chronicle, as a 'probable'.

Abbreviations

abb abbot (of); adv advocate (of); archbp archbishop (of); archd archdeacon (of); bp bishop (of); but butler (of); can canon (of); cast castellan (of); chap chaplain (of); cl cleric; con constable (of); ct count (of); d duke (of); e emperor; k king (of); kt knight; l lord (of); m monk (of); n noble; pl papal legate; pr priest (of); sen seneschal (of); st-b standard-bearer (of); vct viscount (of); vid vidame (of); w wife (of).

The First Crusade, 1096–1103

Certainties, or Nearly So

Abo of St Bonnet (75)
Chamalières 54.

Achard of Marseilles, archbp Arles (1643)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151–2; Poly, *La Provence*, 268 n. 120.

Achard of Montmerle, cast Montmerle (435)
Cluny 5.51–3; GF 5, 88–9; PT 135; RA 141; AA 317, 468–9; BB 98–9; RR 865; GN Gesta 224; Gilo 795; OV 5.160–2; WT 398; Ch d'A 1.167, 441; Ch d'A Pr 491.

Adalbero of Luxembourg, archd Metz (390)
AA 370–1.

Adam son of Michael (25 Not located)
AA 365, 366, 426; Ch d'A 1.471.

Adelolf (26)
AA 481.

Adhémar of Felez, pr St Germain (1476)
Vigeois 68; Solignac fol. 23v.

Adhémar of Las Gaydias (1475)
Uzerche 315; Vigeois 68.

Adhémar of Monteil, bp Le Puy (375)
J. H. and L. L. Hill, 'Contemporary Accounts and the Later Reputation of Adhémar, Bishop of Puy', *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* 9 (1955), 30–8; J. A. Brundage, 'Adhémar of Puy: The Bishop and his Critics', *Speculum* 34 (1959),

201–12; H.. E. Mayer, 'Zur Beurteilung Adhémars von Le Puy', *Deutsches Archiv* 16 (1960), 547–52.

Adiutor of Vernon, kt (124)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.824.

Aimery Bernard (1489)
Vigeois 68; Aureil 179.

Aimery Brun, kt (4620)
St Martial de Limoges 347.

Aimery, chap Chasseneuil (3782)
St Amant de Boixe 159.

Aimery of Courron, co-I Amboise (174)
Anjou (Halphen) 326; GAD 100–1.

Ainard of La Croix (4609)
St Martial de Limoges 340–1.

Airard (29 Not located)
RC 641.

Alan Fergent of Brittany, d Brittany (267)
AA 316; BB 50 note; WT 191; Ch d'A 1.70; Ch d'A Pr 476; and probably Brittany (ducs) 61.

Alan of Gaël (283)
BB 33; OV 5.58.

Alan, sen archbishop of Dol (30)
BB 33; OV 5.58.

Alard of 'Spiniacum' (545)
Kb 145.

Albert, kt (23)
'Qualiter reliquiae B. Nicolai' 293–4.

Albert of Biandrate, ct Biandrate (111)
AA 559, 561–2, 568–9, 582, 591, 603; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 112; OV 5.326, 336; (Ch d'A 1.71, 160 — erroneous and called Thierry of Biandrate).

Albert of Parma, ct Parma (457)
AA 559, 568; Riant, 'Un dernier triomphe', 249–55.

Alexander, pr, pl, chap Stephen of Blois (22)
1096: Kb 152; CSPVS 184–8.
1101: CSPVS 184–8.

Amanieu III of Albret, I Albret (653)
The references in GC 122, 127, 155, 195 seem to be confirmed by the confusion of his name with that of Amanieu of Loubens in PT 'Var Ms' 98.

Amanieu of Loubens, kt (382)
St Pierre de la Réole 140–1; PT 129; HP 210.

Anonyma, leader of a sect which followed her goose (4727 Not located)
GN Gesta 251. See AA 295.

Anonyma, nun of Sta Maria ad Horrea, Trier (560)
AA 327–8.

Anonymous, armiger of Baldwin of Le Bourcq (5491 Not located)
AA 469.

Anonymous, author of the *Gesta Francorum* (38)
GF *passim*, esp 27, 40, 47, 57, 73, 82–92.

Anonymous, cl (5490 Not located)
AA 415–16.

Anonymous, kt (5492 Not located)
GN Gesta 248–50.

Anonymous, kt, 'king of the Tafurs' (797)
GN Gesta 242; Ch d'A 1.169–70, 218–21, 223, 227–18, 317–8, 407, 438, 475, 527.

Anonymous, m Cerne (1655)
Anselm of Canterbury 4.85.

Anonymous of La Mote (2668)
La Sauve-Majeure fol. 25 (information provided by Dr Bull).

Ansellus of Cayeux (184)
Kb 145.

Ansellus of Méry (411)
Molesme 2.229.

Anselm II of Ribemont, cast Bouchain, l Ostrevant and Valenciennes (497)
Valenciennes (594–601); Kb 144–6, 156–60, 176; GF 85; PT 131; RA 108–9; FC 270; RC 680–1; AA 315, 424, 452, 456; GN Gesta 218–19, 251; BB 93; RR 744n, 857; HP 211, 215; OV 5.150; WT 330, 365; 'Sigeberti continuatio auctarium Aquicinense' 394–5; 'Sigeberti continuatio auctarium Ursicampinum' 471; Ch d'A 1.69, 83, 94, 160, 440, 478, 481.

Anselm of Buis, archbp Milan, pl (169)
Landulf the Younger 22; Ekk H 28; AA 559, 561–2, 568, 573–4; GN Gesta 244; RC 709; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 112; OV 5.326.

Anselm Rascherius (799)
Genoa (Church) 41; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Ardouin of St Mars, kt (3484)
St Julien de Tours 82; AA 579.

Ardouin of Vione, 'procer' of Sablé (3583)
Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.89, 91–2.

Arnald of Aigurande (3638)
La Chapelle-Aude 83.

Arnald Tudebode, kt (562)
PT 116.

Arnold II of Ardres, cast Ardres (50)
Flanders 67 (Arnulf of Ardea); LA 625–7.

Arnulf, bp Martirano (401)
GF 93–4; PT 144; RA 152, 154, 156; RC 683; BB 106–7; HP 216; OV 5.178; WT 421–2, 424–5, 436.

Arnulf, cl (677)
Kb 177.

Arnulf Malecouronne of Chocques, pr, pl, chap Robert II of Normandy (217) R. Foreville, 'Un chef de la première croisade: Arnoul Malecouronne',

Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (1953–4), 377–90.

Arnulf of Hesdin, l Chipping Norton (337)
'Chronica monasterii de Hida' 301–2; WMGP 438.

Arnulf of 'Tirs', kt (567)
AA 317, 371.

Arnulf son of Villicus (52 Not located)
AA 574.

Arvedus Tudebode, kt (563)
PT 97.

Ascelin of Grandpré (315)
Neumoustier 804.

Attropius, kt (56 Not located)
RC 614.

Aubrey of Cagnano (183)
GF 8; BB 21; Monte Cassino 477; HP 177, 187; OV 5.36; WT 177. See Jamison, 'Some Notes', 203.

Aubrey of Grandmesnil, kt (312)
GF 56–7; PT 97; BB 64; GN Gesta 194; RC 662; HP 200; OV 5.34, 98; WT 310, 312.

Aufan of Agoult, bp Apt (41)
RA 89–90, 119, 135. See Poly, *La Provence*, 268.

Aznar Exemenones of Oteiza (4757)
Leire 272.

Baldric, sen Godfrey of Bouillon (64)
AA 300, 412, 481.

Baldwin, abb, chap Godfrey of Bouillon (65)
GN Gesta 182–3, 251; WT 472.

Baldwin Chauderon, kt (185)
Kb 145; AA 315, 320–1; WT 203; WT Fr 1.118; Ch d'A 1.69, 77–8, 80, 86, 88–9, 91,95, 99–100, 526; and probably Valenciennes (600).

Baldwin I of Guines, ct Guines (319)
LA 580–1.

Baldwin of Boulogne (141)
Mayer, *Mélanges*, *passim*.

Baldwin of Ghent, adv St Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin, Ghent, l Aalst (287)
Flanders 67; Kb 139, 145; AA 315, 321; 'Annalista Saxo' 730; WT 203; Ch d'A 1.69, 86–8, 90–2, 94, 99–100.

Baldwin of Grandpré, kt (316)
AA 563, 569; Laurence of Liège 499.

Baldwin of Hestrud (340)
AA 591, 593.

Baldwin of Le Bourcq, l Le Bourcq (150)
FC 278; GN Gesta 254; AA 299, 306, 310, 315, 332, 343, 350, 422, 464, 468–9; WT 138, 161, 171, 174, 217, 219, 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.281.

Baldwin of Mons, ct Hainault (325)

St Lambert de Liège 1.46–8; Dinant 1.12; GF 2; RC 642; AA 305, 315, 332, 366, 424, 434–5; WT 138, 161, 252, 278, 343; GN Gesta 147, 208; BB 17, 20; RR 744; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Chronica', 367; Gilo 701; Giselbert of Mons 37, 43–5; Monte Cassino 476; HP 174; OV 5.34; 'Annalista Saxo' 730; Anonymus Florinensis, 'Brevis Narratio Belli Sacri', 371; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione Antiochie a Christianis', 374; Ch d'A 1.69, 441.

Bartholomew Boel of Chartres, vid Chartres (205)

Genoa (Church) 41 (Kb 156); GF 8; RA 64; BB 21; RC 654–5; Gilo 765; Monte Cassino 477; HP 177; OV 5.36; WT 177; Ch d'A Pr 478, 494.

Bartholomew, cl (69 Not located)

Consecrated archbishop of Misis (Mamistra) at Christmas 1099 (RC 704; HP 227) so must have been on the crusade.

Bego of La Rivière (496)

PT 129; HP 210.

Bellacosa (5229)

Genoa (Church) 41.

Bencelinus of Brie (5362)

Lorraine 513–14 (*PL* 157.439–40). See Laurence of Liège 497.

Benedict, cl (97 Not located)

Consecrated archbishop of Edessa at Christmas 1099 (RC 704; HP 227) so must have been on the crusade.

Berald Silvain (3953)

St Jean d'Angély 33.111–13.

Berengar of Narbonne (680)

St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151–2.

Berengar Peter of Gignac (644)

HGL 5.749.

Berlai of Passavant-sur-Layon (1650)

Chaise-le-Vicomte 7–8.

Bernard (100)

Cluny 5.59.

Bernard Ato of Béziers, vct Béziers and Carcassonne (109)

Gellone 248; Carcassonne 5.155; St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151–2.

Bernard II of Besalù, ct Besalù (197)

Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien 2.287–8.

Bernard II of Bré, co-l Bré (1482)

Vigeois 51; Aureil 179.

Bernard le Baile (102)

Aureil 126.

Bernard of 'Pardilum' (454 Not located)

HP 193.

Bernard (of Scheyern, ct Scheyern) (540)

Ekk H 32. See Ekkehard (Hagenmeyer) 248 note 15.

Bernard of St-Valéry (531)

AA 316; BB 33; RC 693; HP 221; OV 5.58; Ch d'A 1.70, 85, 152, 401; Ch d'A Pr 473.

Bernard of Valence, pr, chap Adhémar of Monteil (568)

WT 340.

Bernard Raymond of Béziers, n (110)

RA 51.

Bernard Veredun (577)

Cluny 5.108.

Berthold, ct (of Neuffen) (442)

OV 5.28, 38; Zimmern 23, 29. But *cf.* Murray, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon', 319–20.

Bertrand of Bas, pr, can Le Puy (71)

Chamalières 54; RA 119–20.

Bertrand of Marseilles (1639)

St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.169–70.

Bertrand of Moncontour, cast Moncontour (419)

La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.104–7.

Bertrand of 'Scabrica' (469 Not located)

HP 181.

Bertrand of Taillecat (2654)

St Pierre de la Réole 141.

Bertrand Porcellet, lay sacristan of the church of Arles (478)

Gallia Christiana 1, Instrumenta, 97. Poly (*La Provence*, 262–4, 268) suggested that he travelled East with Achard of Marseilles.

Bohemond of Taranto, l Taranto (334)

R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), 34–105.

Bonifilius, bp Foligno (276)

Acta SS Septembris 7.523.

Boniface, can (Le Puy?) (73)

Chamalières 54.

Boso of La Chèze (103)

Aureil 126, 170.

Brunet of Treuil, can Aureil (379)

Aureil 29.

Bruno (275)

AA 568.

Bruno, n, can (165)

Ekk H 32.

Bruno, n, can (166)

Ekk H 32.

Caffaro de Caschifellone (780)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 121.

Centule II of Bigorre, I Bigorre (87)
BB 17; OV 5.30; WT 139, 182.

Chalo VII of Aulnay, vct Aulnay (4782)
Notre-Dame de Saintes 139–40; and probably Montierneuf de Poitiers 45.

Clarembald of Vendeuil, I Vendeuil (574)
AA 293–5, 299, 304–5, 398; RR 833; GN Gesta 206; Gilo 775; WT 156, 168, 291; Ch d'A 1.69, 440, 450–1.

Conan of Lamballe (155)
AA 316, 422, 463; RC 648; BB 28, 33; OV 5.54, 58; WT 191, 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.70, 526. See C. W. David, *Robert Curthose Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), 222.

Cono of Montaigu, ct Montaigu (420)
Dinant 1.13; 'Cantatorium Sancti Huberti' 340, 371; AA 306, 310, 317, 366, 385, 464, 495, 504; RC 632, 637, 639, 641; OV 5.110, 166–8; WT 161, 171, 174, 252, 410; Neumoustier 804, 815. See 'Document inédit' 100.

Cono, pr (695 Not located)
GN Gesta 250.

Cono, pr, chap Robert II of Flanders (4534)
Flanders 67.

Conrad, once con the emperor Henry III (228)
AA 562, 568, 570, 573–4, 582–3, 591, 593–5, 649–50.

Conrad, son of Taio (5226)
Genoa (Church) 41.

Constantine son of Bernard (613)
Cluny 5.108.

Corba of Thorigné, co-I Amboise (173)
GAD 86–7, 102–3.

Daimbert, archbp Pisa (696)
B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, 14–16.

Dithmar, ct (246)
Mainz Anonymous, 'Narrative of the Old Persecutions', 100.

Dodo de Advocato (806)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Dodo, kt (247 Not located)
AA 574.

Dodo of Clermont-en-Argonne, I Clermont-en-Argonne (220)
AA 563, 569.

Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville (229)
St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.81–2; AA 299, 317; WT 161.

Drogo I of Mouchy-le-Châtel, I Mouchy-le-Châtel (418)
AA 422, OV 5.30; WT 330; Ch d'A 1.70, 307.

Drogo of Nesle (443)
AA 299, 304–5, 315, 398, 442; RR 833; Gilo 775; WT 168, 291; Ch d'A 1.86, 90–1, 93–5, 440, 450–1, 488; Ch d'A Pr 473.

Durand Bovis (77)
Chamalières 54.

Edgar Atheling (646)
WMGR 2.309–10.

Ekkehard of Aura, m Michelsberg, Bamberg (58)
Ekk H 29–30 and *passim*.

Elvira of Leon-Castile, w Raymond IV of St Gilles (599)
GN Gesta 150.

Emeline, w Fulcher of Bullion (135)
AA 436. For her name see St Martin des Champs Chartes 1.112–13.

Emerias of Altejas (35)
HGL 5.757.

Emich ct Flonheim (372)
Ekk H.20; AA 292–5, 299; Mainz Anonymous 107; Solomon ben Simson, 'Chronicle', 28, 70; WT 156 158; Zimmern 23; also Ekk C 261.

Emma of Hereford, w Ralph I of Gaël (645)
OV 2.318.

Engelrand of Châlons-sur-Marne (202)
AA 574.

Engelrand of Coucy, bp Laon (230)
AA 563, 568, 573, 582–3, 600; GN Gesta 243.

Engelrand of St Pol (527)
RA 109; BB 47 note, 76 note; AA 315, 372–3, 422, 451; RC 681; HP 215; WT 161, 330, 357; Ch d'A 1.63, 70, 82–3, 92, 95, 149–52, 155–6, 160, 163, 200, 244–6, 307, 313, 315–16, 401–2, 437, 441, 526, 530.

Engilbert of Cysoing, adv Cysoing, l Petegem, st-b Robert II of Flanders (237)
Flanders 63. For his office in Flanders, see E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300* (Kortijk, 1975–6), 4, table 169.

Engilbert of Tournai (557)
AA 472, 477; RC 693; HP 221; BN 515; WT 409.

Erald of Châlons-sur-Marne (203)
AA 574.

Ermengald of Roussillon, bp Elne (515)
HP 176, 189; Monte Cassino 477.

Eudes (101)
Cluny 5.59.

Eudes Arpin of Bourges, vct Bourges (151)
'Excerptum Historicum' 158; AA 544, 591, 593–5; GN Gesta 244–5; OV 5.324, 344–52; (Ch d'A 1.35, 39, 49–50, 52, 508, 523–4 — erroneous).

Eudes (Odo), bp Bayeux (85)
St Bénigne de Dijon 2.167; GN Gesta 232–3; 'Chronica monasterii de Hida' 296, 300; OV 4.118; 5.34, 208–10.

Eudes I of Burgundy, d Burgundy (178)
St Bénigne de Dijon 2.173–7, 180; Molesme 2.13, 18, 143; Cluny 5.156–9;

St Etienne de Dijon 11; Burgundy (Pérard) 82–4, 202–3; OV 5.324 (misnamed), 338.

Eudes of Beaugency, st-b Hugh the Great of Vermandois (89)
RR 831; Gilo 775; Ch d'A 1.426–7, 442 (as Eudes of Beauvais).

Eudes of St Mars, abb Preuilly (3485)
St Julien de Tours 82.

Eudes of Verneuil (579)
Kb 145.

Eustace, but Robert II of Flanders (4533)
Flanders 67.

Eustace III of Boulogne, ct Boulogne (144)
Kb 161–5; GF 90, 93, 95; PT 71, 118–19, 139–40, 143, 145–6; AA 314–15, 398, 424, 448, 451, 472, 477, 491, 495; BB 17, 20, 28, 34–5, 100 note, 102, 105, 108, 110 note; GN Gesta 147, 226, 234–5; Gilo 797; RC 632; 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 351; 'Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem' 369; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 374; WT 138, 191, 215, 252, 276, 278, 330, 332, 354, 407, 409, 426, 434, 453; Ch d'A 1.69, 85–6, 262, 307, 441, 515, 519, 526. See St Bertin (Guérard) 229.

Everard III of Le Puiset, vct Chartres (373)
Marmoutier (Dunois) 137; GF 5; AA 362, 365, 383, 410, 422; RR 796, 833; BB 17, 21 note; RC 697–8; Morigny 11; Gilo 751, 774; HP 223; OV 5.30; Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 130; WT 139, 242, 275, 310, 330; Ch d'A Pr 473, 491; Ch d'A 1.70, 194, 196, 199, 206, 307, 450–1.

Everard, pr (258 Not located)
RA 117–18, 121.

Everard Venator, huntsman (573)
GF 78; PT 122; RR 847; BB 85 note; Gilo 782; HP 208.

Fantin Incorruiatus (354)
St Laon de Thouars 32.

Farald of Thouars (351)
RA 75.

Florina of Burgundy, w Sven of Denmark (179)
AA 377.

Folkmar, pr (277)
Ekk H 12, 20. See Cosmas of Prague 103.

Fortun Iniguez, l Grez (4738)
Leire 230.

Franco I of Mechelen, cast Brussels (395)
AA 413; WT 317; Wauters, *Table chronologique*, 1.602.

Frederick of Bogen, adv Regensburg (128)
'Probationes ad tabulam chronologicam ad Stemmatalogiam comitum de Bogen' 41, 76.

Frumold, ministerialis of the archbishop of Cologne (282)
'Chronicon Brunwylarense' 151–3.

Fulcher of Bullion, kt (134)

AA 436 (called Folbert). See Emeline, above.

Fulcher of Chartres, kt (206)

RA 64; AA 281, 283, 286, 288, 357, 442; RR 799–800, 805; RC 654–5; Gilo 765; OV 5.90; WT 15; Ch d'A Pr 491.

Fulcher of Chartres, pr, chap Stephen of Blois, chap Baldwin of Boulogne (208)

FC 153, 160–206 and *passim*; GN Gesta 250, 252.

Fulk Doon of Châteaurenard, l Châteaurenard (1628)

Lérins 311–12.

Fulk I of Matheflon, cast Matheflon (1559)

Azé et Le Genêteil 60; Anjou (Halphen) 330; Le Ronceray d'Angers 93–5. Fulk of Guines (320)

LA 580–1; 'Versus de viris illustribus diocoesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione' 540.

Fulk of Solliès (1638)

St Victor de Marseille (Rolland) 26–7. See St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.169.

Fulk the Lombard of Grasse, l Grasse (1624)

Antibes 62–3.

G. of Las Gaydias, pr (3875)

Uzerche 315.

Galdemar Carpenel of Dargoire, l Dargoire (188)

RA 141; RA Cont 307–8; PT 135; WT 397–8.

Garin of Gallardon (3297)

St Martin des Champs Liber 98; St Martin des Champs Chartes 1.123–6.

Garnier Marchio (5493 Not located)

RC 642.

Garnier of Grez, ct Grez (317)

AA 299, 301, 310, 315, 365, 383–4, 422, 424; WT 138, 161, 275, 330; Ch d'A 1.69. See 'Document inédit', 100.

Garsadon of Etrechy (3326)

Morigny 19, 40–1.

Gaston IV of Béarn, vct Béarn (88)

St Vincent de Lucq 19–20; GF 92, 95; PT 78, 110, 141, 145–6; RA 145–6; RR 874; AA 316, 332, 422, 442, 460, 462–4, 504; BB 162 note, 108; GN Gesta 228–9, 235; Gilo 799; HP 193; WT 139, 182, 217, 331, 377–8, 399, 410; Ch d'A Pr 474, 492.

Geoffrey Burel, co-1 Amboise (172)

GAD 86–7, 102–3.

Geoffrey Chotard (218)

Brittany (Morice) 1.488.

Geoffrey, doctor (1652)

Chaise-le-Vicomte 8.

Geoffrey Guarin, kt (4723)
Marmoutier (Dunois) 141–2.

Geoffrey I Jordan of Vendôme, ct Vendôme (575)
La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.159–60; Marmoutier (Blésois) 106; Marmoutier (Vendômois) 315; Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.427; FC 437; WMGR 2.450; AA 593; BN 533–4; GAD (198); Ch d'A 1.70 (erroneous).

Geoffrey II of Donzy, ct Chalon-sur-Saône, l Donzy (1566)
Burgundy (Pérard) 201–2 (Chalon-sur-Saône Preuves 46).

Geoffrey III of Roussillon, ct Roussillon (516)
Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien 2.287–8; GF 8, 9; PT 41; BB 21; HP 176, 189; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36, 44; WT 177.

Geoffrey III of Thouars (352)
Chaise-le-Vicomte 6–8, 25, 347.

Geoffrey Le Râle (4326)
Le Ronceray d'Angers 104.

Geoffrey of Issoudun, l Issoudun (3891)
Aureil 161.

Geoffrey of Montescaglioso (428)
GF 8, 21, 61; PT 55, 102; BB 21, 35, 68; GN Gesta 162; HP 177, 183, 202; Monte Cassino 477, 480; OV 5.36, 62, 102; WT 177. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 191, 200–1.

Geoffrey of Riveray (3901)
Nogent-le-Rotrou 39.

Geoffrey of Signes, kt (294)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.167–8.

Geoffrey Parented of Segré (193)
OV 5.90.

Geoffrey son of Deriadoc (632)
Brittany (Morice) 1.484, 491.

Geoffrey son of Geoffrey of 'Perolium' (633)
Brittany (Morice) 1.484, 491.

Gerald Malefaide of Noailles, l St Viance, l Noailles (394)
Uzerche 95; *Documents historiques inédits tirés des collections manuscrites* 3.437; HP 193; GC 127.

Gerald of Landerron, cast Landerron (2656)
St Pierre de la Réole 141 –2

Gerald of 'Tuda', kt (3944)
St Jean d'Angély 30.390–1.

Gerard, abb Schaffhausen (538)
'Monachi anonymi Scaphusensis de reliquiis sanctissimi crucis et dominici sepulchri Scaphusam allatis' 337; Bernold of St Blasien 467. See also Berthold of Zwiefalten, 'Chronicon', 108.

Gerard Barson (68 Not located)
AA 593.

Gerard, bp Ariano (51)

HP 176–7; Monte Cassino 477; FC 327; GN Gesta 255.

Gerard, household cl Baldwin of Boulogne (304 Not located)

AA 395, 446.

Gerard I of Quierzy, l Quierzy (483)

AA 315, 331–2, 467–8, 494; WT 139, 217, 291; Ch d'A 1.94, 441.

Gerard of Avesnes, kt (61)

AA 499.

Gerard of Buc, cast Lille (168)

'Narratio quomodo relliquiae martyris Georgii' 250–1.

Gerard of Gournay-en-Bray (311)

AA 316; BB 33; OV 5.34, 58; Ch d'A 1.94, 441.

Gerard of Roussillon (514)

HP 176; AA 316, 422, 464; Monte Cassino 477; WT 139, 177, 182, 331, 410; Ch d'A 1.489(?).

Gerard the Old of Meleone (406)

RR 833; Gilo 776; Ch d'A 1.450–1.

Gerbault of 'Castellum Winthinc' (192)

AA 591, 593, 595.

Gerbault of Lille, pr (380)

'Narratio quomodo relliquiae martyris Georgii' 248–50.

Gerento of Le Béage, l Le Béage (114)

St Chaffre du Monastier 89 (HGL 5.751). See also Chamalières 17–8.

Gervase of St Cyprian, abb St Savin (522)

Acta SS Aprilis 2.226.

Gilbert, abb Admont (27)

Henry of Breitenau, 'Passio S. Thiemonis Juvavensis archiepiscopi' 203, 205; 'Annales Mellicenses auctarium Garstense' 568; 'Annales Admuntenses' 577; 'Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses' 774.

Gilbert, bp Evreux (259)

OV 4.118; 5.210.

Gilbert of Aalst, kt (1393)

Afflighem 13.

Gilbert of Clermont, ct Clermont (221)

AA 350; WT 219, 229.

Gilbert of Traves (559)

AA 316, 468–9; WT 398.

Gilbert Payen of Garlande, sen King Philip I of France (290)

AA 320; WT 139, 201; Ch d'A 1.161.

Girbert of Mézères (72)

Chamalières 54.

Girsmannus (308)

Landulf the Younger 22.

Godehilde of Tosny, w Baldwin of Boulogne (142)

AA 302, 358; WT 221.

Godfrey Burel (171)
AA 277–8, 281, 286, 288.

Godfrey Incorrighatus (355)
St Laon de Thouars 32.

Godfrey of Bouillon, d Lower Lorraine (145)
J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington, 1947), 47–111; Mayer, *Mélanges*, 10–48.

Godfrey of Esch-sur-Sûre, n, kt (54)
AA 299–300, 306–7, 366; WT 161–2. See 'Document inédit' 100.

Godric of Finchale, merchant, pirate (715)
Reginald of Durham 33–4; AA 595.

Godschalk, pr (310)
AA 289–91, 300; Ekk H 12, 20; WT 153–5, 157, 161, 163.

Gottman of Brussels (167)
AA 591, 594.

Gouffier of Lastours, l Lastours (370)
GF 79; PT 78, 123; RA 97–8; BB 85; GN Gesta 213; RR 847–8; Gilo 783; GV 12.422, 428; HP 193, 206, 209; OV 5.138; 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 351; WT 341, 354–5; Ch d'A Pr 492–3; Ch d'A 1.441; Tenant de la Tour, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 357–60; Ch d'A 2.171–2.

Gozelo of Montaigu (421)
AA 317, 358–9; WT 240, 242; Ch d'A 1.144–6.

Grimbald (318 Not located)
Cluny 5.117–18

Grimoald of Maule (642)
OV 3.200.

Guarin Guernonatus (4719)
Marmoutier (Dunois) 141.

Guarin, kt (291 Not located)
RC 614.

Guarin of 'Petra Mora' (465)
RR 857; Gilo 792.

Guarin of 'Tanea' (1654)
WMGR 2.460–1.

Guigo of 'Mara' (398)
St Julien de Tours 72–3.

Gunscelin, pr, can Lille (322)
'Narratio quomodo reliquiac martyris Georgii' 250.

Guy, co-l Mezenc (3841)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88, 139–41.

Guy II of Rochefort, ct Rochefort, sen King Philip I of France (432)
Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 38–40; AA 563, 568, 573; Morigny 40–1.

Guy of Biandrate, kt (112)
AA 559, 568.

Guy of Bré (1483)

Aureil 179; Uzerche 210, 341, 362; Vigéois 67–9; Solignac fol. 23v.

Guy of Escorailles (1658.)

St Flour cxxxv, ccvii.

Guy of Guines (1336)

LA 580–1.

Guy of Hauteville (335)

GF 63–5; PT 105–7; HP 203–4; RR 816–7; GN Gesta 200–1; BB 72–3, 80 note; OV 5.76, 106–8; WT 321; Ch d'A 1.350–2.

Guy of Pistoia, ct Pistoia (5295)

Pistoia 241–3.

Guy of Possesse, l Possesse (480)

AA 315, 320, 322; Kb 145 (as Guy of Vitry); WT 139, 201, 203; Ch d'A 1.69, 81, 91, 93, 95, 99–100.

Guy of Roumoulès (1623)

Lérins 289–90.

Guy of Sarcé, kt (537)

St Vincent du Mans 1.190–1, 200.

Guy of Signes (295)

St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.167–8.

Guy of Thiers, ct Chalon-sur-Saône (201)

Paray-le-Monial 107–8.

Guy Trouseu of Montlhéry, l Montlhéry (433)

GF 56–7; PT 97–8; HP 200; RC 650; GN Gesta 194; BB 64; OV 5.30, 98; Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 36–8; WT 312.

Guynemer of Boulogne, pirate (139)

AA 348–9, 380, 447, 500–1; WT 228, 362–3, 371.

Hadvide of Chiny, w Dodo of Cons-la-Grandville (4158)

St Hubert-en-Ardenne 1.81–2.

Hamo, abb Cerne (1656)

Anselm of Canterbury 4.85.

Hamo of La Hune (367)

St Vincent du Mans 1.266–7.

Hartmann of Dillingen-Kybourg, ct Dillingen-Kybourg (245)

AA 299, 322, 427; Bernold of St Blasien 466; WT 156, 203, 338; Zimmern 23.

Helias of La Flèche, ct Maine (366)

OV 5.228–32.

Henry Contarini, bp Castello (817)

'Historia de translatione' 255–81 *passim*; Martin da Canal, *Les Estoires de Venise*, 24–6.

Henry, ct (341)

AA 576.

Henry II of Regensburg, burgrave of Regensburg (493)

Göttweig 196–7; Ekk H 32.

Henry of Esch-sur-Sûre, cast Esch-sur-Sûre (55)

AA 299, 305, 322, 328, 365–6, 369, 413, 422, 424, 427, 435; WT 138, 161–2, 171, 203, 316–17, 330, 338, 344. See 'Document inédit' 100.

Henry of Grandpré, ct Grandpré (630)

Laurence of Liège 497.

Heraclius I of Polignac, vct Polignac, st-b Adhémar of Monteil (377)

RA 82, 119–20; Ch d'A Pr 492. See Chamalières 16–18.

Herbert II of Thouars, vct Thouars (353)

Chaise-le-Vicomte 6–8, 25, 347. See Ch d'A Pr 474, 491 (erroneous).

Herbert of 'Campus Marini', kt (4315)

Marmoutier (Anjou) 39.

Herbert of Chaise-Dieu, prior of Prevezac (45)

Acta SS Aprilis 3.330

Herbrand of Bouillon, kt (137)

AA 317, 440. See 'Document inédit' 100.

Herluin, pr, interpreter (342 Not located)

GF 66–7; PT 108; RR 825–7; GN Gesta 204; BB 74; HP 204; OV 5.108; WT 326; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 1.107; Ch d'A 1.364, 367–9.

Hermann of Canne (187)

GF 7; BB 21; HP 187; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; WT 177; Jamison, 'Some notes', 198–9.

Hervey son of Dodeman (344 Not located)

BB 33; OV 5.58.

Hildebert, ct (345 Not located)

OV 5.28.

Hilduin of Mazingarbe (405)

Kb. 145.

Host of 'Castellum Ruvra' (191 Not located)

AA 593.

Hugh, archbp Lyons, pl (244)

Savigny 1.433–4; Hugh of Flavigny 487, 494; RA Cont 307–8; Ch d'A 1.47 (li vesques del Forois; erroneous).

Hugh Bardolf II of Broyes, l Broyes (157)

AA 563, 568, 573.

Hugh Bochard, cast Trivy (127)

St Philibert de Tournus (Juénin) 2.135 (St Philibert de Tournus (Chifflet) 335).

Hugh Botuns (133 Not located)

AA 591, 593.

Hugh Bunel (170 In exile in Islamic territory)

OV 5.156–8.

Hugh Guernonatus, prévôt of Blois (4717)

Marmoutier (Dunois) 141.

Hugh I of Gallardon, l Gallardon (3296)

St Martin de Pontoise 470 note 920; St Martin des Champs Liber 98.

Hugh II of Empurias, ct Empurias (198)
Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien 2.287–8.

Hugh II of St Pol, ct St Pol (528)
 AA 315, 372, 422, 463; BB 28, 33; RC 642; OV 5.34, 54, 58; WT 138, 161, 213, 278, 330, 357, 410; Ch d'A 1.69, 82, 92, 95, 150–2, 160, 163, 194–8, 200, 281–2, 315, 321, 401, 437, 441, 530; Ch d'A Pr 473.

Hugh III of Juillé (361)
 St Vincent du Mans 1.293.

Hugh Lo Forsenet (or 'The Mad') (358 Not located)
 GF 61; PT 102; BB 68; GN Gesta 197; HP 202; OV 5.102. See RR 824.

Hugh of 'Almaz' (33)
 AA 593.

Hugh of Amboise, kt (634)
 Marmoutier (Tourangeau) 40–1.

Hugh of Apigné (40)
 St Georges de Rennes 269–70.

Hugh of 'Bellafayre' (96)
 HP 181.

Hugh of Burgundy, archbp Besançon (104)
 St Philibert de Tournus (Juënin) 144; Calixtus II, *Bullaire*, 1.4–5, 39, 205, 380; 2.14. See Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, 274.

Hugh of 'Calniacum' (635)
 Kb 145.

Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire, co-1 Amboise (175)
 Anjou (Halphen) 326; GAD 100–2; BB 17 note, 21 note, 65 note. The documents in Marmoutier (Blésois) 72, 87 probably relate to his crusade.

Hugh of Guines (1337)
 LA 580–1.

Hugh of Méry, kt, 1 Méry-sur-Seine (412)
 Molesme 2.229.

Hugh of 'Montbeel' (427 Not located)
 AA 559, 561, 568.

Hugh of Pierrefonds, bp Soissons (464)
 AA 563, 573; GN Gesta 243.

Hugh of Rethel (Le Bourcq), ct Rethel (147)
 AA 593.

Hugh of Rheims (495)
 Kb 145.

Hugh of St Hilaire (2222)
 Sauxillanges 882.

Hugh of St Omer, 1 Fauquembergues (260)
 AA 531; 'Versus de viris illustribus' 540. See 'Les Lignages d'Outremer' 455; Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa*, 41–2.

Hugh of Toucy, co-1 Toucy (553)
1096 and 1101: Molesme 2.84; and see 1.138–9.

Hugh the Great, ct Vermandois (280)

1096: Kb. 145, 153–5, 160; Anna Comnena 2.213–15, 225–6; RA 79; GF 5–6, 18–20, 68, 70, 72; PT 37–8, 51–4, 110–12; FC 155–6, 194–5, 255; AA 304–5, 316, 366, 422, 424–5, 434–5; GN Gesta 148–50, 152, 155, 160–1, 196, 200, 205–8, 241; BB 17, 20–1, 33–5, 44 note, 50 note, 75, 77, 79, 80 note; Gilo 732, 745–6, 748, 777; OV 5.30, 34, 36, 58, 60–2, 110, 114, 128; WT 138, 167–8, 191, 202, 215, 252, 276, 278, 288, 330–2, 336, 341, 343, 465; Ch d'A 1.20, 70, 94, 161, 220–1, 224, 261, 281, 299, 307, 341, 388–9, 391, 393, 425–7, 440, 444, 449, 472, 489, 508–9, 513, 518, 520, 526, 530.

1101: Molesme 2.13; FC 430, 433; GN Gesta 200, 243, 259; WT 465, 467.

Hugh Verdosius (4639)

St Cyprien de Poitiers 68.

Hugh VI of Lusignan, I Lusignan (389)

1101: Nouaillé 293; AA 591; FC 438; BN 532–4, 561; WMGR 2.447–8, 450; WT 476. He is possibly referred to on the expedition of 1096 to 1099 as 'lo dux de Laconha, in Ch d'A Pr 491. His seneschal certainly took part then (PT 135), but it is unlikely that he went twice himself.

Humberge of Le Puiset, w Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin (810)

RR 795–6; Gilo 750–1.

Humbert II of Savoy, ct Maurienne, Savoy, and Turin (2217)

Savoy 27.

Humphrey son of Ralph (349)

GF 7–8; BB 21; HP 176; OV 5.36; Monte Cassino 477; WT 177.

Husechinus (350 Not located)

AA 341.

Ida of Cham, w Markgraf Leopold II of Austria (59)

Ekk H 32; AA 579–81; 'Annales Mellicenses' 500; 'Historia Welforum Weingartensis' 462.

Ilger Bigod, con Tancred Marchisus (113)

OV 5.170.

Ingo Flaonus (820)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Isoard I of Die, ct Die (243)

RA 132, 144; WT 138, 330, 411.

Isoard of Ganges, n, kt (289)

RA 60.

Isoard of Mouzon (426)

GF 5; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 375.

Itier I of Toucy, co-I Toucy (554)

Molesme 2.84, 105; and see 1.138–9.

Itier of 'Tuda' (3945)

St Jean d'Angély 30.391.

Ivo of Grandmesnil, sheriff of Leicester (313)

1096: PT 97; AA 398?, 410; RC 662; HP 200; BN 501; OV 4.338; 5.34;

WT 310; Ch d'A 1.307?.

1101: OV 4.338.

John, chamberlain (824 Not located)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 109.

John Michiel (823)

'Historia de translatione' 255, 262.

John of Nijmegen (445)

AA 317; Ch d'A Pr 491.

Jordan of Le Breuil (1501)

Vigeois 68; Solignac fol. 23v.

Josbert of Les Murs (3913)

Aureil 203.

Josbert of St Hilaire (2221)

Sauxillanges 882.

Joscelin of Courtenay (234)

OV 5.324.

Josceran of Vitrolles (1627)

St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.229–31. See Poly, *La Provence*, 267.

Lagman of Man, k Man (5482)

Chronicle of the Kings of Man 8, 62.

Lambert (368 Not located)

AA 279.

Lambert (625 Not located)

In Palestine late in 1099, so must have been a crusader. AA 510.

Lambert, doctor (5231)

Genoa (Church) 41.

Lambert Ghezo (826)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 118.

Lambert Magus (5225)

Genoa (Church) 41.

Lambert of Montaigu (422)

AA 317, 422, 464, 495; WT 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.84, 146 and probably 441, 526; Neumoustier 804, 815.

Lambert the Poor (222 Not located)

GF 56–7; PT 97; BB 64; HP 200; OV 5.98; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione' 377; WT 312.

Lanfranc Drubesci or Roza (828)

Genoa (Church) 41; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Leger (1653)

Chaise-le-Vicomte 8.

Lethold of Tournai, kt (558)

GF 91; PT 140; AA 472, 477; BB 102; RR 867; GN Gesta 226–7; RC 693; BN 515; Gilo 798; HP 221; OV 5.168; WT 409; Neumoustier 811.

Lisiard of Flanders (271)

Kb.145.

Louis, archd Toul (556)

AA 375–6.

Louis of Mousson, ct Mousson (425)

AA 317, 422, 464; WT 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.441; Neumoustier 804.

Mainfinit, sen Alan Fergent of Brittany (631)

Brittany (Morice) 1.484, 491.

Mala-Corona, servant of Bohemond of Taranto (393 Not located)

GF 45–6; PT 85; BB 55; HP 196.

Manasses, bp Barcelona (107)

AA 582, 584–5.

Manasses of Clermont (223)

Kb.145.

Manasses Robert of Guines (1335)

LA 580–1.

Matthew, kt (402)

GN Gesta 183–4; OV 5.28.

Mauro de Platea Longa (778)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 118.

Miles Louez, kt (386 Not located)

AA 316.

Miles of Bray, cast Bray, vct Troyes (434)

1096: Longpont 93; OV 5.30.

1101: Longpont 184, 184–5; OV 5.324, 346; AA 563, 568.

Nivelo of Fréteval, cast Fréteval (448)

St Père de Chartres 2.428–9; Marmoutier (Dunois) 56–7, 76 and probably 75.

Norgeot, bp Autun (5498)

Hugh of Flavigny 487.

Norgeot I of Toucy, co-I Toucy (555)

Molesme 2.64, 84; and see 1.138–9.

Norman of Morvilliers (3442)

St Père de Chartres 2.628–9.

Oliver of Jussey, kt (362)

AA 317, 494; Ch d'A 1.91, 94, 166.

Onulf, sen Robert II of Flanders (4532)

Flanders 67.

Opizo Mussus (832)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Osbert Bassus de Insula (834)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Osbert son of Lambert de Marino (833)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Otto Altaspata (34)
AA 559, 568, 591.

Otto, bp Strasbourg (549)
Bernold of St Blasien 466–7; 'Annalista Saxo' 730; OV 5.28; Zimmern 22.

Otto, cl (5230)
Genoa (Church) 41.

Pagano of Volta (779)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 118.

Paschale Noscentius Astor (835)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

Payen of Beauvais (94)
RR 833; Gilo 775; Ch d'A 1.450–1.

Payen Peverel, st-b Robert II of Normandy (466)
Barnwell 46–7, 54–5.

Payen, sergeant (453)
BB 5 + note, 56, 79 note; HP 196; OV 5.90; GF 46; PT 86.

Peter, abb Maillezais (392)
BB 5, 8.

Peter Airoveir, l Trouillas (4602)
See *Gallia Christiana* 6.979.

Peter Bartholomew, servant of William Peyre of Cunhlat (70)
Kb 159, 166; GF 59–60, 65; PT 100–1, 107–8, 122., 131 note; RA 68–137 *passim*; FC 235–41; AA 419–20, 452; RC 676–8, 682–3; GN Gesta 196–7, 203–4, 218; BB 67–8, 74; RR 822–3; BN 502, 507; NF 357; HP 201–2; OV 5.100–2, 110; WT 324–5, 367; Ch d'A 1.358–9.

Peter Bastard, kt, co-l Mezenc (78)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88, 139–41.

Peter, bp Glandèves (5382)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.152.

Peter Desiderius, pr, chap Isoard I of Die (242)
RA 116–17, 131–4, 144.

Peter Fasin (266)
St Maixent Chron 170.

Peter Fortis (4636)
St Cyprien de Poitiers 68.

Peter I of Aragon, k Aragon (4752)
Coleccion diplomatica de Pedro I de Aragon y Navarra 113 note 6. See Ch d'A Pr 492.

Peter II of Pierre-Buffière, cast Pierre-Buffière (1500)
Vigeois 68; Aureil 179.

Peter Jordan of Châtillon, I Châtillon (3795)
Cormery 104.

Peter Lombard, kt (385)
In Palestine late in 1099, so must have been a crusader. AA 509.

Peter of Alifa, kt (57)
GF 25–6; PT 60; BB 39; GN Gesta 168; RR 769; HP 185; OV 5.66.

Peter of Castillon, vct Castillon (194)
GF 26; PT 61, 78, 129; BB 39; GN Gesta 168; HP 193, 210; OV 5.68.

Peter of Dampierre-le-Château, ct Astenois, I Dampierre-le-Château (238)
AA 299, 301, 310, 317, 343, 365–6, 422, 424; WT 161, 219, 330; Laurence of Liège 494; Ch d'A 1.129, 404–5.

Peter of Fay, co-I Fay-le-Froid (263)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88–9; and perhaps Pébrac 17.

Peter of Friac (1490)
Vigeois 68; Solignac fol. 23v.

Peter of La Garnache (1649)
Chaise-le-Vicomte 8.

Peter of Mercoeur *, pr, (74)
Chamalières 54.

Peter of Narbonne, pr, consecrated bp al-Barah during the crusade (441)
RA 91–2, 97–100, 102, 104–5, 111, 120–1, 124, 128, 146, 153; GF 75; PT 117, 131 note; FC 239; BN 507; HP 207; RR 840; BB 83; GN Gesta 210; WT 352–3, 356, 358–9, 364, 369, 411, 422, 424. See also 'Canonici Hebronensis tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarcharum Abraham, Ysaac et Jacob' 309.

Peter of 'Picca', pr, chap Bertrand of 'Scabrica' (468 Not located)
HP 181.

Peter of Roaix (500)
GF 26; PT 61; BB 39; GN Gesta 168; OV 5.68; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 376; GC 157, 165.

Peter of Vallières, I La Narce (2219)
Sauxillanges 884.

Peter Raymond of Hautpoul, I Hautpoul (336)
GF 26; PT 61, 78; RA 69; BB 39; GN Gesta 168; HP 189, 193; OV 5.68.

Peter Raynouard (488)
RA 38; PT 44; HP 178.

Peter son of Gisla (463 Not located)
AA 410; WT 310.

Peter the Hermit (423)
See H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), *passim*.

Peter Tudebode, pr (564)
PT *passim*, esp. 138

Philip the Grammarian of Montgomery, pr (431)
OV 4.302; 5.34; WMGR 2.460.

Pisellus (596)
AA 446.

Pons, co-l Mezenec (3842)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88, 139–41.

Pons II of Fay, co-l Fay-le-Froid (264)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88–9.

Pons of 'Balazun' (Balazuc?), n (63)
RA 35, 75, 107; PT 131; RR 857; Gilo 792; HP 211; WT 365.

Pons of Grillon, chap Raymond Decan (744)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.152.

Pons Raynouard, kt (489)
PT 44; RA 38; HP 178.

Pons the Red, kt (5358)
Lyon 2.106.

Primo Embriaco (781)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione' 110–11, 116.

Quino son of Dodo (4950)
St Mihiel 191.

Raimbold Croton, kt (235)
AA 410; RC 688–9; BB 49 note, 71 note, 102 note; Ivo of Chartres 144–5; HP 218–19; OV 5.168; WT 310; Ch d'A 1.71, 208–11, 306, 442, 527–8.

Raimbold II of Orange, ct Orange (450)
AA 317, 422, 463–4; WT 138, 182, 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.441.

Raimondino son of Donnucci (5296)
Pistoia 7.241–4.

Rainald (484)
GF 3–4; PT 34–6; GN Gesta 144–5; RR 732–4; BB 18–19; HP 174–5; OV 5.32, 38.

Rainald II of Burgundy, ct Burgundy and Mâcon (105)
AA 583; Ch d'A 1.440, 480 (erroneous).

Rainald III of Château-Gontier, l Château-Gontier and Segré (3471)
Azé et Le Genéteil 55; CGCA 'Additamenta' 149; St Aubin d'Angers Cart 2.175.

Rainald of Beauvais, kt (93)
AA 316, 332, 363, 422; Gilo 775; Ch d'A Pr 473, 492; WT 217, 330; Ch d'A 1.70, 441, 474.

Rainald of Broys, kt (158)
AA 277, 281, 286, 288; WT 152.

Rainald of La Chèze (1521)
Aureil 170.

Rainald of the Principate (330)
GF 7; BB 21; HP 176; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; WT 177.

Rainald of Thiviers, bp Périgueux (461)
Limoges 18–19; GV 12.430. See 'Ex fragmento de Petragoricensibus episcopis' 391.

Rainald Porchet, n, kt (479 Not located)

PT 79–81; HP 192, 194; Ch d'A 1.205, 212–17, 221, 224, 229–33, 528.

Rainald, sen Hugh VI of Lusignan (485)

PT 135.

Rainaldo de Rudolpho (838)

Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 118.

Rainer, cl, chap Robert II of Flanders (4535)

Flanders 67.

Ralph Dolis (841 Not located)

BB 65 note.

Ralph I of Gaël, I Gaël (284)

BB 28, 33; AA 422; William of Jumièges 287; OV 2.318; 5.34, 54, 58.

Ralph of Aalst (24)

Ch d'A 1.86 (called Baldwin of Ghent's brother; actually he was his uncle). See AA 591, 593.

Ralph of Beaugency, ct Beaugency (91)

St Avit d'Orléans 54; BB 17 + note, 21 note, 47 note, 65 note; OV 5.30; GAD 101; WT 138; Ch d'A 1.94, 166; probably Anna Comnena 2.226–8, 230 and La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.108–9.

Ralph of Escorailles (1659)

St Flour cxxxv, ccvii.

Ralph of Fontaines, kt (278)

AA 410; BB 65 note; RC 662; WT 310.

Ralph of 'Scegonces', n (533 Not located)

AA 579.

Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray (476)

Genoa (Church) 41 (Kb 156); Ch d'A Pr 478.

Raymond Bertrand of L'Isle-Jourdain (359)

RA 103.

Raymond Decan, lay dean of the Church of Arles, I Posquières (660)

Gallia Christiana 1, Instrumenta 97; St Sépulcre de Jérusalem 186–7; Poly, *La Provence*, 253–4, 268, 330. His chaplain, Pons of Grillon, was already in the East by January 1103.

Raymond IV of St Gilles, ct Toulouse (524)

See Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*, 21–143.

Raymond of Aguilers, pr, chap Raymond IV of St Gilles (28)

RA *passim*, esp 35, 72, 75–6, 81–2, 89, 107–8, 119, 121, 123–4, 131–3.

Raymond of 'Castellum' (189)

Kb 146.

Raymond of Curemonte, kt (4420)

Tulle 276–7; 416–18.

Raymond of Les Baux (747)

Gallia Christiana 1, Instrumenta 97; St Sépulcre de Jérusalem 187; Poly, *La Provence*, 221, 267.

Raymond of Turenne, vct Turenne (566)

Tulle 276–7, 416, 418; GF 83–4, 87–8; PT 78, 129, 134–5; BB 91, 97; RR 854, 863–5; 'Notitiae duae Lemovicenses' 351; GN Gesta 216, 223; GV 12.428; HP 193, 206, 210; OV 5.146, 158.

Raymond Pilet, l Alès (471)

GF 73–4, 83–4, 87–9; PT 115, 129, 134–6; RA 122–3, 141–2; AA 316, 422, 452; RR 838, 845, 854, 863–5; BB 81–2, 84–5, 91, 97–8; GN Gesta 209, 216, 223–5; Gilo 778–80, 789, 794–5; HP 206, 210; OV 5.130–2, 138, 146, 158, 160–2; WT 182, 330–1, 361, 398, 411.

Raymond the Chamberlain (1502)

Vigeois 68.

Reinhard III of Toul, ct Toul (239)

GF 69; PT 111; AA 299, 301, 317, 343, 365–6, 398, 422, 424, 442, 494; GN Gesta 206; BB 77, 78 note; RR 831; HP 205; Laurence of Liège 494; OV.5.34, 110, 112; WT 161, 219, 252, 291, 330; Ch d'A 1.129, 404–5, 420–1; and perhaps Ch d'A Pr 478, 494.

Reinhard of Hamersbach, kt (326)

AA 422, 424, 435; WT 330, 344.

Reinhold, n (494)

Die Reichskanzler 3.88–9.

Reinhold of 'Firmamentum', vct 'Firmamentum' (270 Not located)

AA 563.

Richard 'Carus Asini', kt (4722)

Marmoutier (Dunois) 141–2.

Richard (of Caiazzo and Alife) son of Count Ranulf (331)

GF 8; BB 21; HP 176; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; WT 177. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 197–8.

Richard of the Principate, ct Salerno (332)

GF 5, 7, 13, 20; PT 54; AA 349–50; GN Gesta 152, 161; RR 744; BB 17, 21, 25; RC 638–9; *Acta SS Novembris* 3.159–60, 164–5, 177–8, 180–1; Anna Comnena 2.215–16, 220; HP 176, 180, 182, 198; Monte Cassino 477, 479; OV 5.36, 50; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 375; WT 177, 219, 229; Ch d'A Pr 478, 494; Ch d'A 1.136.

Richard son of Fulk the elder of Aunou, kt (498)

'Miracula S. Nicolai' 429.

Richard the Pilgrim (499 Not located)

Ch d'A 1, *passim*, esp. 442–3; LA 626–7. But see Cook, '*Chanson d'Antioche*', *Chanson de Geste* 23–7.

Riou of Lohéac (383)

Redon 318–21; BB 33; OV 5.58.

Robert I Burgundio of Sablé, l Sablé-sur-Sarthe (2529)

Azé et Le Genéteil 55; Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.86–91, 456–7.

Robert II of Flanders, ct Flanders (302)

See M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade', *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. L. J. Paetow (New York, 1928), 79–100.

Robert II of Normandy, d Normandy (449)
See David, *Robert Curthose*, 89–119.

Robert Marchisus (327)
BB 33; RC 611.

Robert Michael (414)
Marmoutier (Vendômois) 254–8 (Marmoutier (Dunois) 139–40).

Robert of Anzi (39)
Genoa (Church) 41 (Kb.156); GF 7, 20; PT 53; AA 350; BB 21; HP 182; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 375; WT 177, 219, 229. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 203.

Robert (of Buonalbergo) son of Gerard, con and st-b Bohemond of Taranto (504)
GF 36–7; PT 72; AA 316, 422; GN Gesta 178; BB 47; RC 668; HP 176, 182, 191; Monte Cassino 477, 479; OV 5.78; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 376; WT 330; Ch d'A Pr 478, 494; GC 136, 141, 171. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 201–2.

Robert (of Molise) son of Tristan, l Limosano (506)
GF 7; BB 21; HP 176; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; WT 177. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 204–5.

Robert of Nevers (416)
AA 577.

Robert of Paris (455)
Kb 145; Notre-Dame de Paris 1.373; AA 329–30; Anna Comnena 2.229–30; 3.18; WT 215.

Robert of Rouen, pr, consecrated bp Lydda during the crusade (513)
AA 461; GF 87; PT 134; RA 136; FC 277; BB 96, 110 note; GN Gesta 222–3, WT 374, 479.

Robert of Sourdeval, l Torosse? (543)
Genoa (Church) 41 (Kb 156); GF 7; BB 21; HP 176; Monte Cassino 477; OV 5.36; WT 177; Ch d'A Pr 494; GC 165, 171. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 207.

Robert son of Godwin, kt (505)
WMGR 2.310, 449.

Roger, abb, chap Anselm II of Ribemont (508)
Kb 145.

Roger, cl (510 Not located)
Consecrated archbishop of Tarsus at Christmas 1099 (RC 704; HP 227) so must have been on the crusade.

Roger of Barneville (67)
Kb 159; GF 15–16; RA 66; AA 320, 362–3, 365–6, 381, 407–8, 411; RR 808–9; BB 28; Gilo 769–70; HP 181, 198; OV 5.54, 90, 102; WT 139, 191, 201, 242, 304, 308, 311; Ch d'A 1.330–2, 526. See Jamison, 'Some notes', 207–8.

Roger of Bétheniville (108)
Kb 159.

Roger of Lille, cast Lille (509)
Flanders 63, 67; Kb 159.

Roger of Mirepoix, l Mirepoix (4606)
Carcassonne 4.78 (HGL 5.778–9).

Roger of Rozoy (517)
AA 358–9; Ch d'A 1.70, 153, 162, 442.

Rossello (4594)
Roussillon 110–11.

Rothold, kt (512 Not located)
In Palestine late in 1099 so must have been a crusader. AA 509.

Rotrou of Perche, ct Perche, ct Mortagne (460)
Nogent-le-Rotrou 36–9, 165; OV 5.34; 6.394; WT 138, 191, 330, 632; Ch d'A 1.70, 114, 160, 166, 194, 199, 244, 307, 441. See La Trappe 579.

Rudolf, ct (of Sarrewerden?) (348)
AA 316, 332. See Zimmern 23, 29.

Ruthard son of Godfrey (520 Not located)
AA 316, 332, 442; WT 330.

Sancho Iniguez of Cinnito (4739)
Leire 230; Huesca 1.148–50.

Sannardus, pr, chap Robert II of Flanders (536)
'Narratio quomodo relliquiae martyris Georgii' 251.

Saswalo of Phalempin (649)
Flanders 64.

Sichard, kt (541 Not located)
PT 129; HP 210.

Sigemar of Mechelen (396)
AA 413; WT 317.

Simon (413)
Molesme 2.229.

Simon, chap? Raymond IV of St Gilles (542 Not located)
RA 89.

Simon of Ludron (384)
Redon 318.

Simon of Poissy (472)
1096: OV 5.28
1101: OV 5.346.

Stabelo, chamberlain of Godfrey of Bouillon (546)
AA 300, 481–2.

Stephen Bonin, l Ars (131)
St Vincent de Mâcon 315. (This could possibly refer to the crusade of 1120.)

Stephen I of Burgundy, ct Burgundy and Mâcon (106)
AA 563, 565, 568–9, 573, 582–3, 591, 593–4; FC 430, 438, 443; GN Gesta 244; BN 532–4; Henry of Breitenau 205; OV 5.324.

Stephen I of Neublans, cast Neublans (444)
Cluny 5.87–91.

Stephen of Aumale, ct Aumale (31)
AA 316; RC 642; WT 138, 191, 330; Ch d'A 1.70, 171, 441.

Stephen of Blois, ct Blois and Chartres (126)
1096 and 1101: See J. A. Brundage, 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio* 16 (1960), 380–95.

Stephen of Lioriac (76)
Chamalières 54.

Stephen of Valence, pr (569)
PT 98–100, 110, 112; GF 57–8; RA 72–4, 118–19, 127–8; FC 245–7; RR 821–2; BB 66; GN Gesta 195; BN 502; HP 201.

Stephen son of Richilda (547 Not located)
OV 5.326.

Sven of Denmark (241)
AA 376–7; 'Annalista Saxo' 730 (with two bishops).

Tancred Marchisus (328)
See R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred* (Chicago, 1940).

Thibald of Ploasme (652)
Brittany (Morice) 1.490.

Thiemo, archbp Salzburg (535)
Ekk H 32; Henry of Breitenau *passim*; 'Passio prior Beati Thiemonis' *passim*; 'Passio altera Beati Thiemonis' *passim*; 'Annales Mellicenses' 500; 'Vita Chunradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis' 64–5, 67; 'Genealogia Welforum' 734; 'Annales Reicherspergenses' 450; 'Casus monasterii Petrihusensis' 656; Zimmern 22.

Thomas of Marle, l Marle and La Fère (233)
AA 293–5, 315, 332, 422, 464, 468; RR 833; Gilo 775; WT 139, 156, 217, 330, 410; Ch d'A 1.69, 94, 155–6, 160, 171, 307, 441, 450–1, 526.

Turonicus of St Martin, kt (525)
BB 65 note.

Udelard of Wissant, n, kt (597)
AA 358.

Ulric Bucel, kt (3850)
La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.157–8, 177.

Ulrich, bp Passau (458)
'Probationes ad tabulam chronologicam' 41, 76.

Walbert of Laon, cast Laon (369)
AA 563, 568–9. See Ch d'A 2.172.

Walbricus, kt (588 Not located)
AA 410.

Walker of Chappes, l? Chappes (204)
AA 316.

Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin, con King Philip I of France (214)

Kb 159; AA 316, 332, 363, 422; GN Gesta 252; RR 795–6, 798; Gilo 750–1; WT 139, 217, 330; Ch d'A Pr 492; Ch d'A 1.70, 441.

Walo of Lille (381)

AA 322; WT 203.

Walter II of Poissy, l Boissy-sans-Avoir (473)

OV 5.28, 30.

Walter of Berga (99 Not located)

AA 593.

Walter of Breteuil (154)

AA 278, 281, 286, 288.

Walter of Couches, bp Chalon-sur-Saône (5499)

Hugh of Flavigny 487.

Walter of St-Valéry, adv St Valéry-sur-Somme, vct Domart-en-Ponthieu (532)

AA 316, 382, 422, 424; BB 33; OV 5.34, 58; WT 330; Ch d'A Pr 473; Ch d'A 1.70, 85, 152, 161, 401, 441.

Walter of 'Verra', kt (578 Not located)

AA 459; WT 372.

Walter of Verveis (580 Not located)

AA 317.

Walter Sansavoir of Poissy, kt (474)

AA 274–6, 283, 286, 288; GF 4; PT 36; FC 159; RR 735; BB 20; GN Gesta 145–6; Fulk IV of Anjou 346; HP 175; OV 5.28, 38; Fulco, 'Historia gestorum viae nostri temporis Jerosolymitanae' 704; WT 103, 140–3, 149, 152.

Walter son of Walter (5332)

Dinant 1.13–14.

Welf IV of Bavaria, d Bavaria (82)

Ekk H 29, 32; AA 579–83; 'Annales Mellicenses' 500; 'Historia Welforum' 462; 'Annales Augustani' 135; 'Genealogia Welforum' 734; 'Annales Weingartenses Welfici' 308; 'Passio altera Beati Thiemonis' 217.

Welf, kt (590)

AA 346, 349, 362; WT 224.

Wicher the German, ministerialis of Fulda (592)

BB 47 note, 50 note, 92 note; RR 867–8; Gilo 798; Ch d'A Pr 489–90; Ch d'A 1.62, 71, 180, 200, 233, 262, 316, 427–8, 442, 446, 449, 452–3; Metellus of Tegernsee, *Expediitio Ierosolimitana*, 125–8; John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', 154; Neumoustier 811.

William Amanieu II of Bezaume, vct Bezaume and Bezanne, l Albret (387)

BB 17; WT 139, 182, 331.

William, bp Pavia (459)

Ekk H 28.

William Bonofilus, kt (132)

RA 121.

W(illiam) Boterat of Flée (5249)
Brittany (Morice) 1.491.

William Botinus, kt (182 Not located)
PT 129; HP 210.

William Caputmalei, consul of Genoa (5497)
Caffaro, 'Annales Ianuenses', 1.11.

William, co-l Mezenc (3840)
St Chaffre du Monastier 88, 139–41.

William de Bono Seniore (851)
Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 102.

William Ermingareus (254)
HP 209.

William Hugh of Monteil (376)
RA 42, 128, 130, 144.

William I Embriaco (251)
RA 146–7; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 110–11, 116; WT 400.

William I of Sabran, l Sabran (521)
GF 88; PT 78, 135; RA 141; BB 98; RR 865; HP 193; OV 5.160; WT 398, 411; and probably Nîmes 293–4.

William II of Nevers, ct Nevers (417)
Molesme 2.42; AA 574–8, 582; Ch d'A 1.70, 166 (erroneous).

William III of Forez, ct Forez and Lyon (279)
Forez 1. n 1, p. 1; AA 315, 321–2; WT 138, 182, 203; Ch d'A 1.70.

William IX of Aquitaine, d Aquitaine (42)
See J. L. Cate, 'A Gay Crusader', *Byzantion* 16 (1942–3), 503–26.

William Jordan of Cerdagne, ct Cerdagne (196)
Papsturkunden in . . . Katalonien 2.287–8; Ch d'A Pr 476.

William Maluspier, kt (397)
RA 121.

William Marchisus (329)
GF 5, 21; PT 38, 55; AA 330; RC 611, 623–5; RR 742; BB 21, 33, 35; GN Gesta 152, 162; HP 176, 183; Monte Cassino 480; OV 5.36, 62; WT 215; Ch d'A 1.117–20.

William of Apremont (1651)
Chaise-le-Vicomte 8.

William of Baffie, bp Clermont (62)
AA 581.

William of Bayeux (86)
BB 33; OV 5.58.

William of 'Bernella' or 'Archis', kt (48 Not located)
GF 56 note, 63 note; PT 97; HP 200.

William (of Bohemia) (5500)
Gilo 775; RR 831.

William of Ferrières (268)
BB 33; OV 5.58.

William of Grandmesnil (314)

Kb 166; GF 56–7; PT 97; RA 74; AA 414–15, 417; GN Gesta 194; BB 64; RC 662; HP 200; OV 5.98; WT 312, 319, 321, 323; Ch d'A 1.139–40.

William of Le Breuil (1543)

Vigeois 64.

William of Les Murs (3912)

Aureil 203.

William of Le Vast (572)

'Depart d'un seigneur normand' 28–9.

William of Montfort-l'Amaury, bp Paris (456)

Paris 1.153–4; GN Gesta 243.

William of 'Nonanta', st-b William II of Nevers (415)

AA 577.

William of Orange, bp Orange (451)

Kb 176; GF 80; PT 125; RA 46, 75–6, 97, 132, 152; RR 850; BB 76 note, 86; Gilo 785; HP 209; OV 5.140; Fulco 700, 702; WT 137–8, 182, 220, 355, 422.

William of Poissy (475)

1096: OV 5.28.

1101: OV 5.346.

William of the Camera (4647)

Nouaillé 292–3.

William Peyre of Cunhlat, l Cunhlat (236)

RA 71, 105; WT 358.

William Pichard, n, kt (470)

GF 85; PT 131; RR 857; BB 93; Gilo 792; HP 211; OV 5.150.

William son of Richard (593 Not located)

PT 97; HP 200.

William the Carpenter of Melun, vct Melun (407)

GF 33–4; PT 68–9; AA 294–5, 305, 414–15, 417; BB 43–4; GN Gesta 173–5; RR 781–2; RC 650; HP 188–9; OV 5.30, 74; WT 156, 168, 312; Ch d'A 1.69, 515, 526.

William V of Montpellier, ct Montpellier (436)

Montpellier 214; GF 26, 78; PT 61 note, 78, 123; AA 316, 422, 447; BB 39, 85; RR 847; GN Gesta 168, 213; Gilo 782; HP 193, 208; OV 5.68, 138; Henry of Huntingdon, 'De captione', 378; WT 139, 182, 331, 353; Ch d'A 1.477.

William VI of Auvergne, ct Auvergne, Clermont and Velay (2641)

St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 1.151–2.

Wolfker of Kuffern, n (364)

Göttweig 194–6.

Probable

Achard of Born (3933)

St Jean d'Angély 30.153–4.

Achard of Bully (3747)
Savigny 1.478.

Adam I of Béthune, cast Béthune (2078)
'Les Lignages d'Outremer' 463. See Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility*, table 21.

Adhémar Chatard (1474)
Aureil 52.

Ado of Quierzy (482)
Active in the East in 1102. AA 593.

Aimery (4803)
Noyers 271.

Aimery Bislingueas (115)
St Maixent Chartes 1.215–16.

Aimery I Durnais (1503)
Uzerche 314.

Aimery II Durnais (1505)
Uzerche 314.

Aimery of 'Bullium' (5001)
Talmont 197.

Aimery of Pont-roy (3897)
Uzerche 440; Aureil 85.

Airald Bardo (3949)
St Jean d'Angély 33.83.

Aldo, bp Piacenza (467)
'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançais' 398–401.

Andrew Raina (4652)
Domène 91.

Anfredus, pr (667 Not located)
Already settled, with property in Jerusalem, during the rule of Godfrey of Bouillon. Cart Hosp 1.21.

Anonymous, almoner of Tournemire (1663)
St Flour ccvii.

Anonymous father of Mainente Arcicoco (609)
'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançais' 400.

Archimbaud Chauderon (286 Not located)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Arnold II of Vierzon, cast Vierzon (583)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Astanove II of Fézensac, ct Fézensac (269)
Auch 57–8.

Autran of Agoult, kt (60)
Apt 248–9. See Poly, *La Provence*, 267.

Berengar (98 Not located)
Cluny 5.152.

Berengar Raymond II of Barcelona, ct Barcelona (2264)

The version of his death, apparently on crusade, in *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* 7, 37 may be confirmed by the references to him in Ch d'A Pr 476, 492.

Bernard Durnais (1504)

Uzerche 314.

Bernard Morel (438)

Marcigny 164–5.

Bernard of St Amand (3867)

Uzerche 195.

Bruno of Ré (3951)

St Jean d'Angély 33. 78–9.

Burchard of Marmande (4795)

Noyers 269–70.

Chatard (209)

Savigny 1.457–8.

Constantius of Diénay (4560)

Bèze Chron 392.

Drogo of Chaumont-en-Vexin, l Trie-Château (213)

St Martin de Pontoise 21.

Durand Cheuvre (215)

St André-le-Bas de Vienne 281.

Engelelmus of St Savin (4827)

Noyers 275–6.

Engilbert (3761)

St Maixent Chartes 16.266.

Eudes Betevin (4716)

Marmoutier (Dunois) 123.

Eudes of Vert-le-Grand (3824)

Longpont 189–90.

Eustace I Garnier (293)

'Versus de viris illustribus' 540.

Frederick of Zimmern, co-l Herrenzimmern (604)

Zimmern 24–36.

Fulcher of Brousse (3908)

Aureil 199–200.

Fulcher of Faverges (262)

Grenoble 165–6.

Fulk of Pontoise, vicar of Pontoise (3355)

St Martin de Pontoise 37.

Gaucher I of Châtillon-sur-Marne, cast Châtillon-sur-Marne (212)
AA 574.

Geoffrey (296 Not located)
Godfrey of Bouillon's chamberlain in the summer of 1100. AA 526.

Geoffrey II of Clervaux, 1 Clervaux (219)
Chronique de Parcé 10.

Geoffrey of St Savin (4826)
Noyers 275–6.

Gerald (298)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.568–9.

Gerald of Bériu, pr (1529)
Aureil 114.

Gerald of St Junien-la-Bregère (1527)
Aureil 114–15.

Gerald Pincre (1531)
Aureil 114.

Guy III of Lastours, 1 Lastours (1472)
GV 12.422.

Guy Le Duc (160)
St Vincent du Mans 1.384.

Guy of 'Insula Bollini', kt (4558)
Bèze Chron 392.

Guy of Pers-en-Gâtinais (5400)
Néronville 310.

Guy Pinellus (3812)
Longpont 121.

Helias of Cray, 1 Cray (606)
Cluny 4.254.

Helias of Malemort (3873)
Uzerche 287.

Herbert Vigers (3865)
Uzerche 171. He could have been on any crusade between 1096 and 1147.

Hervey son of Arnold (4783)
Notre-Dame de Chartres 3.83 (for date, see 1.99); Sens 2.10.

Hugh II of Usson-en-Forez, 1 Usson-en-Forez (2224)
Sauxillanges 1045.

Hugh of Bully (3748)
Savigny 1.478.

Hugh of Equevilley, kt (4559)
Bèze Chron 392.

Hugh of Rougemont (3663)
Molesme 2.217–18.

Humbald the White of Hubans (5032)
La Charité-sur-Loire 88.

Humbert of Le Dognon (1532)
Aureil 113–14.

Itier of La Rivière (1528)
Uzerche 316.

Itier of La Vue (1538)
Aureil 170.

John of Draché (4788)
Noyers 262.

John, pr (3940)
St Jean d'Angély 30.260–1.

Josbert Cabrun (4812)
Noyers 273–4.

Joscelin, provost Chartres cathedral (5360)
Sens 2.18.

Lantelmus, gonfalonier (adv) of Piacenza cathedral (626)
'Actes constatant la participation des Plaisançais 400–1, and see 396.

Leodegar, can Chartres (4787)
Notre-Dame de Chartres 3.132; Sens 2.15.

Leteric of Châtillon, l Châtillon (5039)
La Charité-sur-Loire 104.

Matthew (403 Not located)
Godfrey of Bouillon's seneschal in the summer of 1100. AA 526.

Miles of Clermont, kt (224)
A member of Godfrey of Bouillon's household in the first half of 1100. AA 522.

Otto, abb Ilsenburg (5510)
Theodore, 'Annales Palidenses', 72; 'Annales Rosenveldenses' 102.

Payen of Mondoubleau (301)
St Vincent du Mans 1.384.

Peter, bp Anagni (36)
Acta SS Augusti 1.237.

Peter Gaubert (1512)
Aureil 192.

Peter of Coudes, cl (2223)
Sauxillanges 971.

Peter of La Vue (587)
Aureil 21, 193, 199.

Peter Robert of Champagne (4655)
Domene 248.

Philip of Briouze (4355)
St Florent-lès-Saumur (Normandes) 688–9.

Pons (299)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.568–9.

Raimbert of Chevanville (195)
Longpont 109–10.

Rainald Superbus (4792)
Noyers 268–9.

Ralph of Montpinçon, kt (437)
A member of Godfrey of Bouillon's household in the summer of 1100. AA 531.

Ralph of 'Monzon', kt (409 Not located)
A member of Godfrey of Bouillon's household in the summer of 1100. AA 526, 531.

Ramnulf of 'Tuinac' (3941)
St Jean d'Angély 30.384–5.

Raymond (303)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.568–9.

Raymond Eic, cl (3720)
Lézat 1.189.

Raymond of Gensac (2658)
St Pierre de la Réole 142–3.

Richard, abb St Victor de Marseille, cardinal (755)
St Victor de Marseille (Guérard) 2.151.

Richard of Chaumont-en-Vexin (811)
Ch d'A 1.35, 39–40, 44, 46, 48–50, 52, 523–4.; GC 15.

Rigaud IV of Tournemire, l Toumemire (1662)
St Flour ccvii.

Robert, vicar (581)
St Vincent du Mans 1.301, and see 291, 306–7.

Rostagn Dalmace (4529)
Montpellier 545, 550–1; and see 557.

Simon son of Herbert (769)
Ch d'A 1.70, 160, 164. Is he the 'Symon, ducis filius' of RRH no 59? See also RRH nos 52, 68a, 76b, 79.

Stephen Adrachapel (3830 Not located)
Longpont 250.

Stephen of Vitry-sur-Seine, kt (3828)
Longpont 250.

Stephen Walter (3870)
Uzerche 242.

Walter, cl (5049)
St Jean d'Angély 30.260–1.

William Arnold of Nerpoy, l Luppé (4556)
Conques 368; and probably St Mont 121–2.

William Miscemalum (3926)
St Jean d'Angély 30.113–14.

William of Forz (3954)
St Jean d'Angély 33.110.

William of Les Moulières (1530)
Aureil 113–14.

William of Percy, l Topcliffe and Spofforth (648)
Whitby 1.2. See AA 701.

William Peter (3948)
St Jean d'Angély 30.388.

Winrich of Flanders (273)
Godfrey of Bouillon's butler in the first half of 1100. AA 522, 526.

Possible

Adhémar III of Limoges, vct Limoges (2272)
Ch d'A 1.71. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 252–3.

Aimery Garaton (793)
Ch d'A 1.70.

Alard of Clisson (225)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Albert of St Quentin (529)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Albert of Zimmern, co-l Herrenzimmern (602)
Zimmern 24–6, 29, 31.

Aliis of Veurne (794)
Ch d'A 1.156.

Andrew of Clermont (795)
Ch d'A 1.70.

Angerius son of Robert (37)
St Vincent du Mans 1.87.

Anonymous, d 'Bonberc'? (130)
Ch d'A Pr 476.

Anonymous Gaubert (1511)
Aureil 192.

Anonymous, l St Thierry? (530)
Ch d'A Pr 474 (Is this meant to be Ebles of Roucy?).

Ansellus of 'Valbetons' (798)
Ch d'A 1.526.

Anselm of Chantemesle (118)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Anselm Parented (671)
See above p. 102 note 139.

Antelme of Avignon (800)
Ch d'A 1.199.

Arnald the Lorrainer (53)
Ch d'A 1.441.

Arnold of Beauvais (801)
Ch d'A 1.35, 40.

Baldwin of Beauvais (802)
Ch d'A 1.35, 39–40, 47–8, 50, 52, 523.

Baldwin Tauns, kt (679)
In the East by the summer of 1100. AA 530.

Bernard L'Etranger (378)
In Cilicia in 1101. AA 581–2.

Bertrand of Prévenchières, bp Lodève (643)
HGL 3.480.

Bracas of Valpin (570)
Ch d'A Pr 494.

Charles the Good of Flanders (5215)
Walter of Théroutanne 540.

Cherfron the German (647)
Ch d'A 1.71.

Conrad of Zimmern, co-1 Herrenzimmern (603)
Zimmern 23–5, 29, 31.

Daniel (5496)
Ch d'A 1.81.

Dodo Donat (248)
Auch 65.

Doon the Young of Montbéliard (424)
Ch d'A Pr 492.

Drogo (le Frison?) (371)
Ch d'A Pr 476.

Ebles of 'Torviars' (1550)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Erkenbald (700)
Active in the East in 1101. AA 549.

Eudes of Montfaucon (430)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Eudes of Port-Mort (122)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Eudes the Bastard (656)
See St Vincent du Mans 1.191 note 1.

Eudes the Breton (807)
Ch d'A 1.489.

Eudon of St-Valéry (804)
Ch d'A 1.70, 156

Eürvin of Creil (808)
Ch d'A 1.377–9.

Everard (3571)
St Vincent du Mans 1.292 (in which witnessed document of *c.* 1097 as a *Jerosolimitanus*).

Faucon of Vierzon (584)
Ch d'A Pr 492.

Fulcher of Alençon (618)
Ch d'A 1.307, 371, 442.

Fulcher of 'Coversana' (5501)
Ch d'A Pr 474.

Fulcher of Melan, kt (628)
Ch d'A 1.39–40, 50, 52, 523.

Fulcher the Orphan (321)
Ch d'A 1.304–5, 442.

Fulk of Clermont (619)
Ch d'A 1.526.

Gandier (288)
Ch d'A Pr 494.

Garin son of Milson of 'Verzels' (Vercel-Villedieu?) (576)
Ch d'A Pr 492.

Gaston of Béziers (620)
WT 410; a possible reduplication of Gaston IV of Béarn's name.

Geoffrey (655)
See St Vincent du Mans 1.191 note 1.

Geoffrey of Montgin (812)
GC 136. See Ch d'A 2.192.

Geoffrey son of Droon (297)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Gerald of 'Ponti' (477)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Gerard, cl (305)
Abbot of Mt Thabor from 1101. See Mayer, *Bistümer*, 49.

Gerard of Donjon (637)
Ch d'A 1.442.

Gerard of St Gilles (813)
Ch d'A 1.137 note.

Gilbert of Entraigues (253)
Ch d'A Pr 492.

Gilbert of Rheims (621)
Ch d'A 1.160.

Godfrey Parented (1671)
See above p. 102 note 139.

Godschalk (714)
Ch d'A 1.70, 160, 164.

Gontier of Aire, squire of Robert II of Flanders (814)
Ch d'A 1.173–5, 307.

Gouffier of Bouillon (136)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Guarin of Clisson (226)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Guiraut of Hirson (346)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Gunter, kt (323)
In Jerusalem in the summer of 1100. AA 526.

Guy of Château-Landon (210)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Guy of Chaumont-en-Vexin (119)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Guy of Morlay (4494)
Beaurain 326; and see 257–8.

Hamelin (3572)
St Vincent du Mans 1.422. A *Jerosolimitanus*.

Heliodore of Blaru (116)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Henry of Préaux (123)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Herbert (leader of the Basques?) (722)
Ch d'A 1.70, 160, 164.

Hubert of Cergy (200)
St Martin de Pontoise 62.

Hugh (654)
See St Vincent du Mans 1.191 note 1.

Hugh Dalmace of Semur, l Dyo and Couzon? (240)
Ch d'A Pr 489 (count Dalmatz).

Hugh of Dijon (623)
Ch d'A 1.441.

Hugh of Les Baux (818)
GC 127.

Hugh of Liège (819)
Ch d'A 1.86 note.

Hugh of Morentin (439)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Hugh of Robecq (501)
'Versus de viris illustribus' 540.

Hugh of Salagnac, I Salagnac (1535)
Uzerche 328.

Ingelbald (356)
St Vincent du Mans 1.69.

Isnard of La Garenne (3513)
St Père de Chartres 2.516.

John (92)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

John of 'Alis' (822)
Ch d'A 1.35, 39–40, 50, 52.

John of Bréval (117)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Josbert (5381)
La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.109.

Joscelin, cl (825)
Ch d'A 1.492.

Leofranc Donat (249)
Auch 65.

Leomer Musart (440)
St Vincent du Mans 1.222–3.

Lithard of Cambrai (186)
Active in the East in 1102, so perhaps came in 1099. AA 593, 621–2; BN 534. See RRH no. 134.

Mahuis of Clermont (830)
Ch d'A 1.441.

Mainard (3570)
St Vincent du Mans 1.259, 267. A *Jerosolimitanus*.

Martin, ct (400)
Ch d'A Pr 474.

Mer son of Garin (410)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Miles (3849)
La Trinité de Vendôme Cart 2.109.

Morellus, cl (734)
Secretarius in the household of Daimbert, the patriarch of Jerusalem, in the summer of 1100. AA 524, 538.

Oliver of Venice (831)
Ch d'A 1.71.

Payen of 'Camelli' (636)
Ch d'A 1.442.

Payen of Chevré (216)
St Vincent du Mans 1.423.

Peter of Courtigny (120)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Peter of Vihiers (586)
Angers 140–1.

Peter Postels (809)
Ch d'A 1.377–8.

Philip of Bouillon (138)
In the East by 1102. AA 593.

Raimbold of Commercy (837)
Ch d'A 1.166.

Rainald (486)
Ch d'A Pr 494.

Rainald of Nivelles (839)
Ch d'A 1.160.

Rainer (3591)
St Aubin d'Angers Cart 2.175. A *Jerosolimitanus*.

Ralph (3573)
St Vincent du Mans 1.422. A *Jerosolimitanus*.

Ralph of Simas (490)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Raymond William (595)
Aniane 358–9.

Richard of Harcourt (121)
Acta SS Aprilis 3.825.

Richard of Mâcon (391)
Ch d'A Pr 492.

Richard of Pavia (842)
Ch d'A 1.50.

Richard of 'Valpin' (571)
Ch d'A Pr 478.

Richard of Verdun (751)
Ch d'A 1.166. Is he the same man as the settler Reinhard of Verdun referred to in AA 623?

Robert of 'Durenzan' (250)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Roger the Emperor (843)
Ch d'A 1.69, 84, 160.

Seguin of Mauléon (404)
Ch d'A Pr 491.

Seguin of Nevers (4915)
St Etienne de Nevers 79–80.

Stephen Gasteuil (3780)
St Amant-de-Boixe 111. He could have been on the crusade of 1107 or that of 1120.

Symeon (847)
Ch d'A 1.492.

Telin?, ct (551)
Ch d'A Pr 473.

Vassalis of Roaix (836)
GC 155–7.

Waleran of Bavaria (848)
Ch d'A 1.71.

Walter (589)
Ch d'A Pr 478.

Walter (849)
Ch d'A 1.81.

Walter (3705)
Redon 267, 320, 330. A *Jerosolimitanus*.

Walter, kt (776)
In the East by the summer of 1100. AA 530.

William (788)
Active in the East in 1101. AA 549.

William of Beauvais (95)
Ch d'A 1.427, 442.

William of Bréteau, l Dangeul (152)
See St Vincent du Mans 1.191 note 1; and perhaps the charter in *ibid.* 419–20.

William of Senlis (853)
Ch d'A 1.438.

Zaizolfus, chap Gerard of Schaffhausen (629)
Berthold of Zwiefalten 108. But this was at a later date in the East.

The Planned 'Crusade' of the Emperor Henry IV, 1103

Henry IV of Germany, western e (1240)
Ekk C 224–5; *Annales Hildesheimenses* 50–1; Otto of Freising 318.

The Crusade of Bohemond of Antioch-Taranto, 1107–8

Certainties, or Nearly So

Aimery Andrea (4823)
Noyers 275.

Anonyma of Lèves, w Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray (1170)
OV 6.104.

Arni Fjöruskeiv (5486)
Riant, *Expéditions*, 178–9.

Aslak Hani (5485)
Riant, *Expéditions*, 178–9.

Bohemond of Taranto, ruler of Antioch (334)
Yewdale, *Bohemond*, 106–31.

Gastinellus of Bourgueil (4820)
Noyers 275.

Geoffrey of 'Mali' (Mailly?) (5502 Not located)
Anna Comnena 3.139.

Gerard, archbp York (5489)
Quadripartitus 161–2.

Godfrey Brisard (4817)
Noyers 274–5.

Godric of Finchale, hermit (715)
Reginald of Durham 52–8. The date of Godric's second assumption of the cross must be before 1110, since he spent sixty years at Finchale before his death in 1170.
Reginald of Durham 331.

Goldinellus of Curzay (4821)
Noyers 275.

Guy (816 Not located)
AA 651.

Guy of Hauteville (335)
OV 6.102–4; Anna Comnena 3.102, 104, 107, 120; 'Secunda pars historiae Iherosolimitanae' 568.

Hamundr Thorvaldsson of Vatnsfjord (5487)
Riant, *Expéditions*, 178–9.

Hervey son of Durand (4824)
Noyers 275.

Hugh II of Le Puiset, vct Chartres, l Le Puiset (702)
Ivo of Chartres 171–4, 176–7; OV 6.100, 104; NF 361; Anna Comnena 3.108; WT 651.

Hugh Sansavoir of Poissy (791)
OV 6.70.

Humbert son of Ralph (5503 Not located)
Anna Comnena 3.139.

Joscelin of Lèves (1169)
St Père de Chartres 2.275.

Josceran of Vitry (1597)
Cluny 5.202–3.

'Koprisianos' (5504 Not located)
Anna Comnena 3.102.

Mabel of Roucy, w Hugh II of Le Puiset (886)
WT 651. See Mayer, 'The Origins', 40.

Maurice Bourdin, bp Coimbra (2099)
'Qualiter tabula S. Basili continens in se magnam dominici ligni portionem Cluniacum delata fuerit, tempore Pontii abbatis' 296.

Payen, ct (Kontopaganos) (5505 Not located)
Anna Comnena 3.104–5, 109.

Philip of Montoro (763)
NF 361.

Ralph 'Licei' (4819)
Noyers 275.

Ralph of Caen, kt (1657)
See *RHC Oc* 3.xxxix.

Ralph Rabaste (4818)
Noyers 275.

Ralph the Red of Pont-Echanfray (476)
OV 6.70, 100, 104.

Renier Brun (762 Not located)
NF 361.

Richard (of Le Puiset) (5507)
Anna Comnena 3.108–9. A brother of a Hugh, who must be Hugh II of Le Puiset. But it is possible that this is Richard of Chaumont-en-Vexin (see above p. 231), a brother of Hugh's brother-in-law who had died on the First Crusade.

Richard of the Principate (332)
Anna Comnena 3.102, 134, 138.

Robert Dalmace of Collanges, l Collanges (1598)
Cluny 5.199 (355–6); Marcigny 79–80.

Robert of Maule (790)
OV 6.70.

Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle, con King Henry I of England (792)
OV 6.100–4.

Robert of Vipont (759)
NF 361.

'Sarakenos' (5508 Not located)
Anna Comnena 3.104–5.

Siger, abb St Pierre au Mont-Blandin (5183)
'Annales Blandinienses' 27.

Sigurd Jorsalafara, k Norway (845)
FC 543–8; AA 675; Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, 688–99; WT 517–19; Riant, *Expéditions*, 173–215.

Simon of Anet (789)
OV 6.70, 100.

Simon of Nouâtre (4822)
Noyers 275.

Walchelin II of Pont-Echanfray (774)
OV 6.70, 100, 104.

Walter, monk (4816)
Noyers 274–5.

Walter of Montsoreau (4316)
Marmoutier (Anjou) 54; Noyers 274–5.

William Claret (850 Not located)
AA 651; Anna Comnena 3.116.

William of Ghent (5509)
Anna Comnena 3.138.

William of Normandy, illegitimate son of Robert II of Normandy (785)
OV 5.282.

Probable

Halldor Skaldri (5488)
Riant, *Expéditions*, 178–9.

Josbert Alboin (3915)
Vigeois 61–2.

Peter Rostagn of 'Poncianum' (4554)
Béziers 149.

Possible

Barisan the Old (2052)
See above p. 172.

Garcia Livar Castro (4764)
Leire 301.

Godfrey I of Louvain, ct Louvain, d Lower Lorraine (4552)
 Joannes Molanus, *Historiae Lovanensium libri XIV*, 1.414.

Robert of Matheflon (4318)
 Marmoutier (Anjou) 54.

Roger of Choiseul, l Choiseul (3656)
 Molesme 2.73.

The 'Crusade' of Bertrand of St Gilles, 1108–9

Ansaldo Corso, n (670)
 Genoa (Church) 43 (Ansald Caput de Burgo); Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 120, 124; WT 508.

Bertrand of St Gilles (690)
 AA 664–9, 671–2, 677–9, 682–3; Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 122–3; WT 507–8; Genoa (Church) 42–3.

Hugh I Embriaco, n (725)
 Caffaro, 'De liberatione', 123–4; WT 508–9.

Ingo de Pedegola (730)
 Genoa (Church) 43.

Oberto Usu de Mar (735)
 Genoa (Church) 43.

Ordelafo Falier, doge of Venice (2199)
 WT 576–81; Martin de Canal 26. See *Urkunden Venedig* 1.86, 91.

William I Embriaco (251)
 Genoa (Church) 43.

The Crusade of Pope Calixtus II, 1120–4

Certainties, or Nearly So

Baldwin of Vern d'Anjou (4340)
 A Le Ronceray d'Angers 215–17.

Bellay II of Montreuil-Bellay (3596)
 Angers 166.

Chalo the Red of Vivonne (4932)
 St Hilaire le Grand de Poitiers (1847) 122, 128–30.

Conrad (III of Germany) (1374)
 Ekk C 262.

Domenico Michiel, doge of Venice (1803)

Urkunden Venedig 1.84–94; FC 669–72, 693–8; WT 573–9, 601; Martin da Canal 26–36; Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica*, 232; 'Historia ducum Veneticorum' 73–4.

Fulk of Le Plessis-Macé, I Le Plessis-Macé (4335)

Le Ronceray d'Angers 213–15.

Fulk V of Anjou, ct Anjou (951)

Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.473; Le Ronceray d'Angers 213–14; St Julien de Tours 104; Angers 246–7; Cart Temp 5; APC 417; WMGR 2.495; Florence of Worcester 2.72; St Florent-lès-Saumur Chron 190; St Aubin d'Angers Chron 32; OV 6.308–10. See St Aubin d'Angers Cart 2.409–10.

Garsias of Le Bignon-du-Maine (3584)

Marmoutier (Manceau) 2.473.

Geoffrey Fulcard of Loudun (4330)

Le Ronceray d'Angers 186; Noyers 265–7.

Geoffrey of Le Louet (4333)

Le Ronceray d'Angers 213.

Godfrey of Ribemont (4155)

St Martin de Tournai 1.30.

Guy Tortus of Rochefort-sur-Loire, kt (4323)

Marmoutier (Anjou) 66.

Rainald of Martigné, bp Angers (2266)

Aze et Le Geneteil 63–4; Angers 246–7; Le Ronceray d'Angers 213–14; St Aubin d'Angers Chron 32.

Walter of Mayenne (3490)

APC 417–18.

William Venator, huntsman (3486)

St Julien de Tours 87–8.

Probable

Frederick of Châtillon (3814)

Longpont 173–4.

Hugh of Ste Maure-de-Touraine, cast Ste Maure-de-Touraine (4843)

Noyers 332.

Isaac of Veurne, chamberlain of Flanders (2090)

Witnessed a charter in Jerusalem on 8 April 1124. St Sépulcre de Jérusalem 212.

Landolt, kt (5288)
Oberalteich 109–11.

R. Gabard (3769)
Mauléon 14–16.

Stephen I of Neublans, cast Neublans (444)
St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 45–7.

Possible

Boleslaw III of Poland, d Poland (5192)
'Annales Poloniae' 589; 'Annales Polonorum' 624–5. The cryptic statements that Boleslaw crossed the sea do not necessarily refer to a crusade.

Guy IV of Vignory, l Vignory (3707)
St Etienne de Vignory 181.

Hugh of Montmirail (3434)
St Père de Chartres 2.471. (1101 × 29)

Hugh of St Aubin-du-Désert (3372)
Tiron 2.23–4.

Pons Palatinus (3750)
Savigny 1.495.

Rodulf (4939)
St Marcel-lès-Chalon-sur-Saône 64.

Roger of Bouesse (3637)
Bourbonnais 177–8.

Two members of the family of Ligonat (3879–80)
Uzerche 323.

William Calvus (3751)
Savigny 1.495.

The Crusade of King Baldwin II, 1129

Certainties, or Nearly So

Fulk V of Anjou, ct Anjou (951)
Le Ronceray d'Angers 68; *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* 142; Cart Temp 6, 9; CGCA 69–70; GAD 115–16; APC 431; St Aubin d'Angers Chron 33.

Geoffrey of 'Bello Mortario' (3588)

St Aubin d'Angers Cart 1.145. (He could be a crusader of either 1139 or 1147.)

Hugh III of Le Puiset, vct Chartres, ct Corbeil (1005)

Tiron 1.127–8; Suger of St Denis, *Vita*, 171.

Hugh of Chaumont-sur-Loire, l Amboise (175)

Cart Temp 8–10; Anjou (Chartrou) 370–2; GAD 115–16.

Rainald I of Bar-le-Duc, ct Bar-le-Duc and Monçon (2609)

Bar 1.44 (St Lambert de Liège 1.58–60).

Thierry of Chièvres (4696)

Eenaeme 28–9.

William of La Ferté-Vidame (3496)

St Père de Chartres 2.511–12, 610–11. (He could have gone on the crusade of 1120.)

Probable

Achard son of Leevin (5006)

Talmont 268.

Albert Fortis of Vitry (5349)

Burgundy (Pérard) 224.

Alo Albus of L'Isle (4906)

St Cybard d'Angoulême 93–6.

Andrew of La Haye (3775)

St Laon de Thouars 44–5.

Berthold of Sperberseck (544)

Ortlieb of Zwiefalten, 'Chronicon', 89; Berthold of Zwiefalten 108, 119.

Gerard of Roucy (4542)

Reims (admin) 1.285–7.

Henry Burgundio (1863)

Cart Hosp 1.78. See Mayer, 'Angevins *versus* Normans', 7.

Robert of Buzançais (3602)

Angers 258–60.

Walter Tirel III, cast Pontoise, vct Poix (2355)

OV 5.294; Longpont 167–8.

Possible

Hugh II of Matheflon, I Matheflon (3542)
Chronique de Parcé 11.

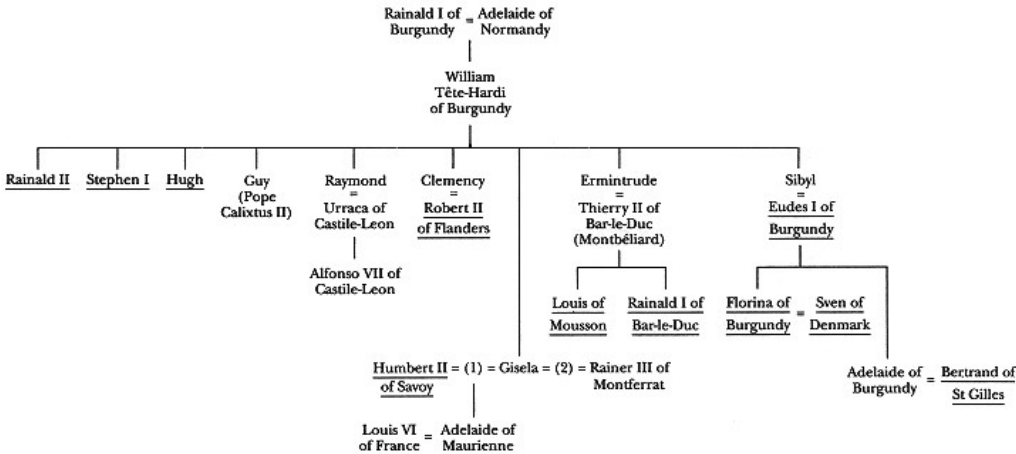
Matthew Giraud (3605)
Angers 271–3.

Robert Burgundio, kt (1976)
See Mayer, 'Angevins *versus* Normans', 7.

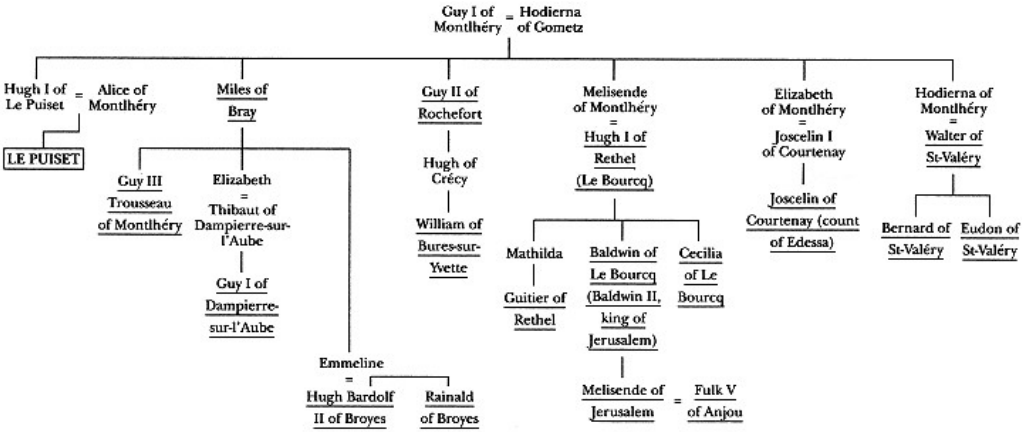
Appendix II—
Pedigrees

Underlined — Crusader, settler in, or visitor to the East: A and B, 1095–1131; C, 1095–1191.

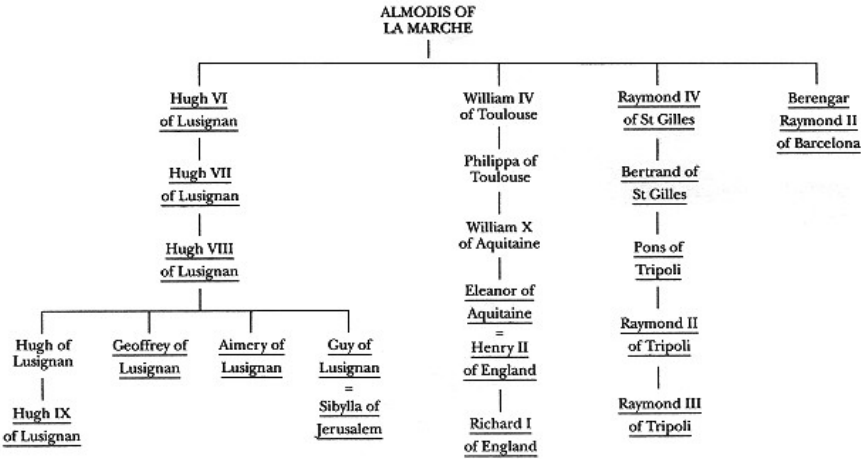
A—
Comital Burgundy



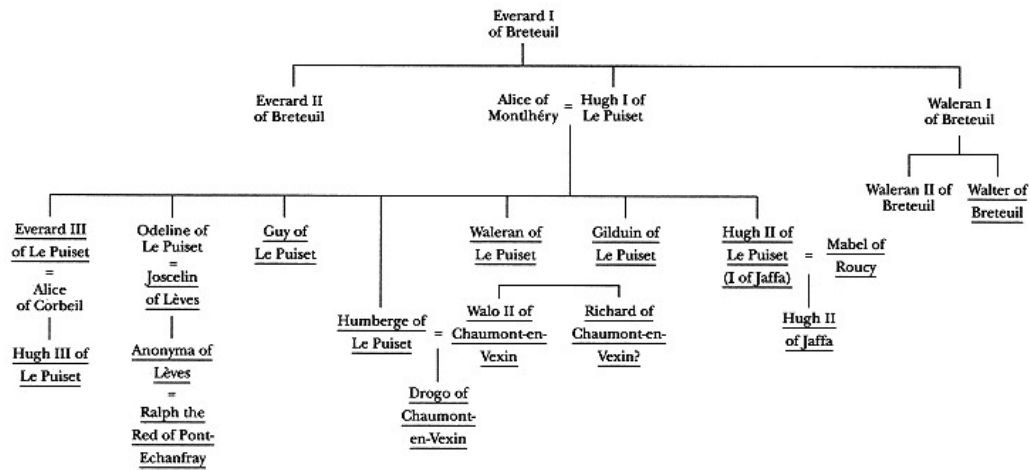
B—
The Monthery Clan
Monthéry



C—
Some Decendants of Almodis of La Marche



Le Puiset



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Abbreviations

abb abbot (of); adv advocate (of); archbp archbishop (of); archd archdeacon (of); bp bishop (of); bro brother; but butler (of); cal caliph; can canon (of); cast castellan (of); chap chaplain (of); cl cleric; co-l co-lord (of); con constable (of); ct count (of); d duke (of); e emperor; k king (of); kt knight; l lord (of); m monk (of); mr master (of); n noble; patr patriarch (of); pl papal legate; pr priest (of); q queen (of); sen seneschal (of); st-b standard-bearer (of); vct viscount (of); vid vidame (of); w wife (of).

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